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ABSTRACT

This booklet records a series of conference presentations and group discussions about a growing problem in the United States: the increasing number of young adolescents in the 10- to 15-year age range who do not have adult supervision after school. Participants identified current program initiatives, policy barriers to increasing and improving after-school opportunities in the public and private sectors, and promising policy recommendations at the local, state, and national levels. Topics covered include the following: (1) statistics on studies investigating the extent of lack of adult supervision for adolescents after school, (2) the nature of the risks involved for unsupervised adolescents, (3) youth problems and social issues resulting from the lack of after-school services, and (4) effective youth programs developed by various agencies and organizations around the country. (DST)

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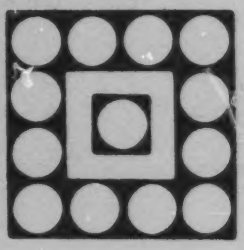

the center for early adolescence

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

SETTING POLICY FOR YOUNG ADOLESCENTS IN THE AFTER-SCHOOL HOURS

sponsored by

The Center for Early Adolescence

and

The Johnson Foundation

November 11-13, 1984

PROCEEDINGS

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Introduction

In November 1984, the Center for Early Adolescence and the Johnson Foundation sponsored a conference at the Wingspread Conference Center. Called "Setting Policy for Young Adolescents in the After-School Hours," the conference convened 36 people representing organizations with varied perspectives on youth policy to grapple with a growing problem in the United States: the increasing numbers of young adolescents on their own after school.

Participants identified positive program initiatives, policy barriers to increasing and improving opportunities for 10- to 15-year-olds when school is out, and promising policy initiatives at the local, state, and national levels. They also went beyond current policies to recommend policies and strategies for reducing risks and enhancing opportunities for this vulnerable age group.

There is a richness of material here that will help participants who requested "ammunition" for their ongoing efforts to improve the well-being of young adolescents, their families, and their communities. Please do not be daunted by the length of this document. The participants' wisdom, questing, toughness, and humor make for easy reading that will reward you with challenging agendas for years to come. We have also made reading easier by drawing your attention with arrows (◀) to points that participants identified as being of special importance to them, when they overviewed these proceedings in draft form.

I am grateful to Sue Rosman, who flawlessly arranged the logistics of the conference, Ernie Quade and Jane Webb, who typed from sometimes impenetrable drafts, and especially Dorothy Casey, who transcribed intelligently and creatively from difficult tapes. Suzanne Rucker makes all this happen with grace, which deepens our dependence on her daily. Leah Lefstein, Gayle Dorman, and Sue Rosenzweig join me in thanking our colleagues who stayed back home to help make the conference a success.

Joan Lipsitz

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LEAH M. LEFSTEIN

Group II Leader
GAYLE DORMAN
Director of Training
The Center for Early Adolescence
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Group III Leader
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Sunday, November 11, 1984
7:30 P.M. Plenary Session

JOAN LIPSITZ

3:00 TO 6:00 P.M.: SETTING POLICY FOR YOUNG ADOLESCENTS IN THE AFTER-SCHOOL HOURS

In the fall of 1982, the Center for Early Adolescence polled parents of 10- to 15-year-olds to learn about their worries and preferences regarding their children's activities in the after-school hours. The parents whose voices ring through the answer sheets are black, white, Hispanic, female, male, urban, rural, suburban. They worry about their young adolescent daughters' and sons' physical safety. They are also deeply concerned about their children's social, intellectual, and cultural well-being.

In response to our question, "Are there any activities or facilities that you would especially like to have in your community that are not available now?" parents told us: "Some kind of center where kids can go and play games and make things" and "More activities in a school or community center with adult supervision." Or, as one mother wrote, "Some families cannot afford private clubs or classes for their children. I feel that if more community activities were offered for all children, there would be less trouble with our youth."

These voices must be heeded. We need to hear the messages behind these worries. Parents of 10- to 15-year-olds are worrying alone and in relative silence. They do not know yet how numerous they are or how common their fears are. They present a hidden but potentially powerful clientele that may well grow in influence during this decade. For policymakers, these parents and their early adolescent children pose interesting challenges that we will be exploring during the next two days.

What are young adolescents doing after school? At the Center for Early Adolescence we call this the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue, shorthand for those many hours when school is out and adults are at work. In most single-parent families and in growing numbers of dual-parent families, parents must work and cannot be home after school. Thus, increasingly, 10- to 15-year-olds are spending the after-school hours unsupervised and uninvolved in their communities at a time in their lives typically characterized by high energy, a striving for self-definition, and a need to prove their personal competence in a variety of areas.

Most adults agree that children in primary grades need after-school supervision. However, families and communities are less certain about the after-school needs of young adolescents. The variable rates of physical, intellectual, and emotional growth experienced by young adolescents preclude simple and uniform solutions. Some 10- to 15-year-olds feel proud and competent that they are trusted to take care of themselves while their parents are at work. Others are uneasy, frightened, or angry because of constant

overdoses of freedom and responsibility.

Young adolescents are noted for their vulnerability to the negative influences of their environment, their peers, and adults. But they are also vulnerable to positive influences, and, in particular, look to adults as role models and sources of affection and guidance. Environments that offer realistic expectations of youth, caring relationships with adults, and diverse opportunities for constructive and enjoyable activities with peers will increase youths' vulnerability to the best in themselves, their peers, and adults.

This is a working conference. I don't think any of us has come here with the answer, or even a coherent set of answers, for how we protect young adolescents from undue risk in the after-school hours, provide the supports parents need as their children approach and enter adolescence, enhance young people's opportunities for healthy development and positive out-of-school experiences, and do this in the current political climate, with the fiscal constraints we have always experienced and will struggle with even more for the forseeable future. I know we have all come with informed questions, tentative answers, and deep convictions, which we will do our best to share and sort out together. When I say this is a working conference, I really mean it. Let me remind you about the objectives for this conference that were outlined in the invitational letter you received from the Center for Early Adolescence. Our objectives are:

1. to convene a group of spokespersons interested in youth service, child development, and youth policy and explore together the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue;

2. to consider together how youth-serving organizations and agencies are meeting the child care and youth development needs of young adolescents and their parents in the after-school hours;

3. to provide an opportunity for participants to share positive (a) program and (b) policy initiatives they are now making, and to stimulate others to make these initiatives;

4. to provide an opportunity for participants to identify for themselves and others, barriers to serving young adolescents in the after-school hours in the public and private sectors; and

5. to consider together strategies for overcoming these barriers.

The agenda for the next two days follows these objectives. We will move from sharing information about positive program initiatives to identifying policy barriers, and from initiatives now in place for overcoming those barriers, to making specific policy recommendations for overcoming barriers.

You received a letter from Dick Kinch, program associate of the Johnson Foundation, saying that Wingspread "provides a setting

supportive of intensive and productive face-to-face exchange." I have attended other conferences here, as have some of you, and I know we will all agree by lunch on Tuesday that "intensive" is a euphemism for the exhaustion of a Wingspread conference. I hope we will agree that the time has been productive.

I want to stress that almost everything is now in your hands. You were carefully chosen and invited. You will be fed overly well. You will have time to mix and mingle and share informally and in group sessions that are purposely open-ended in structure. We hope to allow the chemistry of personalities, values, intellect, and experience to produce its various colorful results. I regret talking to you now in this somewhat formal way, because I want this to be your conference. The problem is that someone has to start it. So, that is what I am about to do.

I want to lay out before you some issues relating to young adolescents in the after-school hours. I doubt that I will clarify anything. In fact, I hope to muddy the waters a bit. Because one problem with the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue is that it is complex, and simple statements and simple solutions are usually inadequate, if not wrong.

The packaging and selling of what is termed the latchkey issue is most simply accomplished by citing scary statistics showing that increasing numbers of young people are at serious and increasing risk. I have four seemingly simple questions that have proved almost impossible to answer. First, how many young adolescents are on their own from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m.? Second, is it true that young adolescents unsupervised and on their own in the after-school hours are at serious risk? Third, if yes, what are they at risk of? And fourth, who is at risk, all young adolescents or certain identifiable subgroups of young adolescents?

I will not throw statistics at you about dramatic changes occurring simultaneously in patterns of marriage, living arrangements, and labor force participation that provoke anxiety about the vulnerability of the early adolescent age group. You received them in the conference materials we sent to you prior to your coming here. We can all agree that these changes, particularly the dramatic increase of women in the labor force, have led to an increase in the number of young adolescents on their own when school is out.

How many parents rely on "self-care" for their early adolescent children in the after-school hours? We do not know the answer to what appears to be a simple question. Nationwide data about child-care arrangements for pre- and young adolescents are not available. We simply do not know how many of these young people lack sustained, predictable contact with parents or other adults in their out-of-school hours. We do not know how safe they are or how well supervised. 1974 census data indicated that almost 18 percent of seven- to 13-year-olds whose mothers were employed full time took care of themselves. We can safely assume that if we lopped off the younger children in these aggregated data, the percent of unsupervised older children would rise considerably. If we had current data, we might

find that the figure for those children who are not supervised had soared, along with the burgeoning rate of single-parent families with adolescents, single mothers in the labor force, and dual-earner marriages. But we do not have information comparable to the 1974 data. The Census Bureau, in effect, "lost" the supervision issue.

Lacking nationwide census data, we have glimmers of information from more localized studies. For instance, the Greater Washington, D.C. Research Center surveyed child care arrangements of employees of the C&P Telephone Company, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Washington Gas Light Company. Thirty-four percent of the employees said their children look after themselves. The average age of the children was 13-1/2; the households of those children in self-care were primarily two adult households.[2]

In a different study, the United Way of Los Angeles surveyed 7,000 Central City workers at five major work sites. Of the parents responding, 20 percent said they leave their children under age 14 without supervision after school. Having conducted one of the few careful studies to provide an age breakdown, United Way of Los Angeles has been able to report that 24 percent of seven- to nine-year-olds and 76 percent of 10- to 14-year-olds are without child care arrangements after school.[3]

In an intensive study of the time use of children ages 11 and 12 in Oakland, California, conducted by Elliott Medrich and his colleagues, no adult was at home to be with the child after school in 30 percent of one-parent and 23 percent of two-parent families. In households in which the mother was employed full time and had no children below the sixth-grade level living at home, no adult was home after school in 56.5 percent of the homes.[4]

From these studies, we can see that the numbers vary but the theme is the same: large numbers of young adolesents are unattended after school.

Who are these young people? Are they predominantly poor, minority children living in inner cities? The studies give us mixed findings. Let me tell you the results of three, since they contradict our assumptions about latchkey children.

Data from a citywide survey of New York City, conducted by Louis Harris and Associates for the Commonwealth Fund, are fascinating. First, investigators found that children who lived with one adult were less likely to be left on their own than were children who lived with more than one adult. Second, having adult supervision was slightly more common among Hispanics, poor families, and among AFDC recipients. Children from white families were more likely to be alone than children from black or Hispanic families.[5]

This point is made abundantly clear by another study conducted in 1983, in Montgomery County, Maryland, one of the wealthiest suburban areas in the United States. Over one-third of the county's nine- to 11-year-olds and approximately three-quarters of 12- to 13-year-olds were in self-care, unattended by an adult. The roles of race and

income are of great interest, since they appear to corroborate the Lou Harris findings in New York City. While self-care crossed all income levels, those parents with the highest levels of educational attainment tended to rely more on self-care. So did white households. Nonwhite households were likely to use nonparental supervised care.[6]

Finally, the survey I mentioned of child care arrangements of workers in Washington, D.C. found that while having children look after themselves was the arrangement used by 34 percent of the parents, it was used primarily by households with two or more adults and incomes of $30,000 or higher.

We know we have a latchkey problem; we do not know how extensive it may actually be. Every informed guess is that it is extensive and growing. I think these studies raise provocative questions about how we should target our efforts in addressing the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue. Assuming these young people are at risk, who, specifically, are "these young people?" Who should be served by public initiatives? How universal a policy do we need? A persuasive argument for a severely limited public response to all children's policy issues has been made by Gilbert Steiner of the Brookings Institute. Steiner says, "The children's policy most feasible-- and most desirable-- is one targeted on poor children, handicapped children, and children without permanent homes.... A children's policy will be successful enough if it concentrates on ways to compensate demonstrably unlucky children whose bodies or minds are sick or whose families are unstable or in poverty."[7] Is it possible that the children of lower-middle-class families whose parents are caught in a financial squeeze and the children of middle- and upper-middle-class families whose parents' priorities may not be child-oriented are as "unlucky" as the children Steiner is referring to? Who is not at risk?

I have been making an assumption of risk, so let me ask the prior question: Is harm ing done? Are young adolescents harmed by being left to their own devices in the after-school hours? The answers fall into four categories: yes, no, it depends, and a restatement of the question itself.

People who answer yes, that harm is done, are convinced that gaps in after-school services leave young adolescents prey to alcoholism, drug use, juvenile delinquency, pregnancy, and addiction to television. Beyond these specific threats to social and personal welfare, public worries center on threats to young people's emotional and physical safety. In other words, fears about the latchkey issue can be said to fall into two categories: the dangers that children fall prey to, and the danger to a community that falls prey to its children.

Research conducted by Thomas and Lynette Long, although flawed by methodological problems, indicates the potential for a heightened and even dangerous sense of personal jeopardy in certain circumstances.[8]

Common sense would indicate that rates of pregnancy and substance abuse would rise when teenagers are unsupervised by adults. No research studies confirm this assertion yet and, in fact, rates of

substance abuse (and delinquency) have decreased and pregnancy rates have not increased, at the same time that attention has been focused on the increasing numbers of children on their own. Truthfully, I don't know what to make of this phenomenon. I wish we could ask the young people themselves what they are doing, where, when, and why in such a way that they would be willing and able to help us understand this paradox.

Unfortunately, there are indications that substantiate our fears that young adolescents on their own may be treated very badly. Jim Garbarino, in both his own research and a review of others', found a link between the latchkey phenomenon and physical, including sexual, abuse. Since studies of domestic violence and sexually victimized children report that siblings are more likely than parents to be perpetrators, Garbarino is not surprised by "the disturbing conclusion that the latchkey phenomenon exacerbates the problem."[9] Because no age breakdowns are reported, it is difficult to conclude from these studies what percent of young adolescents are victims and what percent are victimizers. In both cases, the risk that they will be involved in physical violence in the home is heightened by the absence of parental supervision.

One caveat about parental supervision is in order, one that is extraordinarily distressing. Evidence indicates that increases in unemployment lead to a heightened incidence of child abuse. Peter Coolsen reports, for instance, that in states hardest hit by the 1982 recession, counties with high unemployment rates reported substantial increases in child abuse. He also cites a study conducted in Flint, Michigan among auto workers: when unemployment in Flint reached 20 percent, evidence of verified child abuse doubled.[10] When parents are home in the after-school hours because of hard times, we may have little reason to take comfort in their presence. The fact of a parent at home from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. is not necessarily positive for young adolescents.

But harm is not necessarily the result of self-care. Several reviews of the literature conclude that latchkey children become more resourceful and self-reliant than their supervised peers, because they are more likely to be encouraged to assume responsibility for themselves and aspects of their households. And Medrich found no systematic differences in Oakland children's participation in organized activities between those with an adult at home and those with no adult at home after school. As Medrich says, "I don't find a persuasive argument that latchkey children have significantly different lives than non-latchkey children."

I warned you that I was going to muddy the waters, and I'm sure I have. The latchkey issue is complex, interweaving personal maturity, family structure, neighborhood safety, and community resources. Thus, we should expect research about its effects on young people to become more equivocal, not less, as the research becomes more sophisticated, and as the many intervening variables, like family and neighborhood, are taken into account.

Whether a young adolescent is at risk of personal harm depends in

part on where he or she lives. For instance, the resources in a city will vary from neighborhood to neighborhood, one offering physically accessible playgrounds, libraries, and museums, and another offering few such resources or several that are relatively inaccessible by foot. Whether harm is done, then, becomes an issue of what Medrich calls "neighborhood-level inequalities," which, as he says, "may be especially important to children since they spend most of their out-of-school time relatively close to home."

Also, the safety of a neighborhood is clearly a critically important factor. Galambos and Garbarino, after reviewing various studies on the effects of self-care, emphasize the importance of the community. "[I]n a rural area that is relatively crime-free, latchkey children are not any more or less socially and academically adjusted and fearful than children who are regularly supervised by an adult....In contrast, negative experiences for latchkey children have been demonstrated in inner-city areas. Thus, there appear to be community differences with respect to a latchkey child's response to a situation."[11]

Besides neighborhood and also the quality and character of the family, the maturity of the particular young adolescent is critical to the concerns of parents as they decide whether it is reasonable to leave a young teenager at home alone. Early adolescent emotional and social development is so variable that decisions made appropriately for one child may be wholly inappropriate, even dangerous, for another of the same chronological age. Few researchers have explored the possible relationships between personal maturity and self-care, and the resulting developmental costs and benefits to young adolescents and their families.

So, is harm being done? Yes, no, and it depends. But I would like to bring up a point we at the Center for Early Adolescence feel is crucially important, in fact absolutely central to our work on this issue. The so-called "latchkey" issue is narrow. It focuses our attention on risk and harm to young people and their communities. "Is harm being done?" is and must remain the most urgent question. It obscures, however, its important converse, "Are opportunities being lost?" Early adolescence is a pivotal time in life. Events during these years help determine much of what follows. The developmental tasks of early adolescence are not isolated phenomena. They are, rather, part of a continuum of growth, and thus crucial to personal and societal health.

That is what we mean by "the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue." It involves not just the children of single parents or working mothers, but all young adolescents. The stereotypical latchkey child is typified by a quotation from an article in the Summer 1984 issue of Youthworker: "Then there is Carl. Carl has two brothers; none of the three boys has the same father. The mother has never been married. Carl is the basic latch-key kid." Well, he isn't, but it is this stereotype that we must, paradoxically, both exploit and refute. As I said earlier, the successful packaging of a youth policy issue may necessitate rounding up the usual suspects, in this case statistics about children in single-parent families, about crime, pregnancy,

substance abuse, and now suicide.

But let us not forget, as we do this, the larger issue that goes beyond preventing risk and harm to preventing lost opportunities for helping young adolescents explore their personal potential, their community, and the larger world. Let us not forget the vulnerability of young adolescents to positive experiences with caring and respectful adults. Let us not forget that we can act positively to enrich young people's lives, to enhance their opportunities, not just to avoid harm. We certainly are not talking only about Carl. We are talking, actually, about youth development, about promoting the healthy development of as many young adolescents as possible.

I said that I wished we could ask young adolescents to enlighten us. Some people have done this. What do they tell us? In the Oakland study, 41 percent of the 11- and 12-year-olds said they often feel bored and at a loss for things to do after school. Many felt that they had little to do that was worthwhile, 82 percent said they watch television because they have nothing else to do.

A survey of 13- and 14-year-old residents of Wake County (including Raleigh, North Carolina), found that 33 percent of the young people cited "recreation and entertainment costing too much" as a major concern, thus elevating this to one of the "top ten" list of their problems. In addition, 23 percent cited problems with "having rides for after-school activities"; 20 percent said they were concerned about "having enough different kinds of things to do outside of school"; 19 percent were worried about "having an adult you can talk to about problems"; and, surprisingly, 14 percent were concerned about "parents providing enough supervision."[12]

Vince Rogers studied the out-of-school time use of Farmington, Connecticut's third, sixth, seventh, and ninth graders. Those of you who watch David Letterman will know that Farmington is the community that turned off its television sets for a month on behalf of its young people, to enrich their lives. In this middle- and upper-middle-class suburban community, 69 percent of the children surveyed came from homes with working mothers and 26 percent from single-parent homes. The children's responses break set with stereotypical expectations of suburban family life. Forty-six percent reported their parents never take them to art shows, museums, or the theater; 28 percent said their parents never help them with school work; 40 percent said they never work together with their parents on hobbies or other projects; 69 percent never take lessons after school; 59 percent said they never do volunteer work. Yet, more than 50 percent of the youngsters said they want the opportunity to do more community service activities.

In this community that is so worried about the effects of television on its children, Rogers found "relatively small amounts of out of school time are spent on what we call 'learning related activities,' i.e., clubs, lessons, reading, homework, visits to museums, libraries, attending dance, drama and musical performances, and so forth.... It is interesting to note that Farmington's students expressed a strong desire for 'more interesting after-school

activities....'" The study concludes, "[T]he formal and informal education of our children cannot be resolved by putting the blame on television."[13]

In these studies, young adolescents tell adults that they want more from their parents and their communities. While they are not necessarily physically at risk and would not say that harm is being done them, they seem well aware of lost opportunities, opportunities to reinforce what families and schools are able or willing to offer, and opportunities to go beyond them. In some cases, they seem more aware of these lost opportunities than their parents are.

I realize that I am giving parents a bad rap right now. I do think that there is evidence of increasing complacency among middle-class parents, as it becomes the norm to leave young adolescents on their own after school. As Medrich et al. conclude, "only if parents believe that out-of-school time use represents an urgent issue in terms of their children's present and future well-being can we expect any serious dialogue within families on the subject"--and, I would add, within communities, service agencies, and legislative and regulatory bodies. But, I would also add, as Medrich does, that we are putting parents in a guilt-inducing bind. "Parents may have been persuaded that what children do when they are not in school is important, but they may not have the time, energy, or resources to ensure their children a rich set of out-of-school opportunities." Concerned parents face considerable barriers in arranging their children's after-school hours: lack of safety, lack of transportation, lack of information, lack of program options, and lack of money. A clear pattern of class differences emerges when fees are set or raised in after-school programs. As public funds are cut and programs raise fees, we face the danger of institutionalizing a two-track, economically-segregated youth development system. This issue of limited financial access, more than any other, pushes the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. problem into the public policy arena.

Finally, a subtle but pervasive barrier to both the provision and use of accessible services is the persistent confusion in this country about who young adolescents are and what we want them to do. Too old for a babysitter and too young for paid employment, young adolescents spend several years in a gray area that, for want of a definition, we label "transitional." I believe we will face some confusion about this issue in the next two days. On the one hand, we will be talking about child care, because the youngest of adolescents are just on the verge of emerging from the supervision of babysitters and child care workers. On the other hand, we may be talking about employment programs, because young adolescents are about to enter the labor market, and adults are rightly concerned about their employability. Our different perspectives will probably uncover tensions between overly prolonged dependency on the one hand and premature independence on the other, and between youth participation in the job market and adult exploitation of youth. These tensions are too powerful for easy resolution. Lack of societal clarity about what is age-appropriate behavior on the part of young people and what are appropriate role expectations on the part of adults adds a dimension of difficulty in policy setting for the age group that we will have to grapple with. I

know that we will need to leave here with a clearer sense of who young adolescents are and what we want them to be doing, if we are to make a meaningful contribution to this policy area. I know we will also have to be very hard-headed and politically realistic, and that this will force us to concentrate on risks and costs and benefits, and to talk about numbers. And I should admit to you a certain sense of urgency I have about this issue.

Our society has a way of pitting one age group against another. If I am interested in early adolescence, I am seen as being against early childhood. That may sound absurd, but it results from the competition for scarce resources. Of course, school-age child care is important. The problem is that children don't stop growing and needing us after sixth grade, just as proponents of school-age child care know that children don't stop growing and needing us in first grade. The issue is not who needs us, but how they need us and how we can answer that need. My new sense of urgency comes from the fact that 45 percent of mothers with infants under one year of age are now in the labor force. In the next decade, that figure will probably top 50 percent. The urgency of the need for infant day care will eclipse concern about care for school-age children. Unless young adolescents act out--since alcohol and drug abuse, violent crime, truancy, and prostitution do evoke anxiety about the well-being of youth and their elders in levels of intensity adequate to propel policymakers into action--unless young adolescents act out, the need for infant day care will eclipse them as well.

So, I feel it is urgent for us to act while attention is being paid to school-age child care and the latchkey issue, and I feel it is urgent for us to speak in numbers. But, and here I speak for myself and for my colleagues, it is also urgent that we speak about values.

In the end, in homes and communities and in the political arena, the argument about the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue will revolve around values rather than numbers, around the quality of life we wish for young adolescents. It will lead to questions about who takes responsibility for enriching their present and future lives, and what level of public and private commitment we wish to make to their well-being. It will provoke us to ask whether and how we can have greater numbers of young people in whom we recognize the characteristics of health that Werner and Smith sought in their Hawaiian study of resilient children and youth: young people who work well, play well, love well, and expect well.[14]

Notes

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[11] Nancy L. Galambos and James Garbarino, "Identifying the Missing Links in the Study of Latchkey Children," Children Today 12 (1983), p. 40.

[12] Karen J. Dorsett and Janice Yuwiler, Adolescent Stress in Wake County: an Unmet Need. Mimeo, 1984.

[13] Vincent R. Rogers, Final Report on Out-of-School Time Use of Farmington, Connecticut's Children. Mimeo, March 1984.

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November 11, 1984

DISCUSSION

Lipsitz: Now I will make good on my promise and invite comments, questions, views, disagreements, additions, deletions.

Larson: How many in this group were latchkey children themselves?

[Four people raised their hands.]

Lipsitz: That's a very telling question, and I thank you for it, because it indicates tremendous social change. How many of you parents have latchkey children?

[Laughter, as many hands are raised.]

Stone: But you know, there's one interesting point. When I was a latchkey child, there was a family that lived in front of me all my elementary and secondary school years. In fact, there wasn't one family that moved on my block during my public school years. So, there was tremendous stability. Everybody knew me. Mrs. Jones lived across the street, and I knew she was there, so that there was a parent surrogate. While I was home by myself, I knew if I needed anything, I could just walk across the street.

Participant: And they'd tell on you if you got out of line.
[Laughter.]

Lipsitz: Some people have said that you can see the change you are referring to in the loss of the front porch in American architecture--the front porch where that neighbor that you hated so much, the Miss Grundy, looked at you and reported to your parents. And now, in the affluent suburbs, it's the deck in the back that you build for privacy. In the cities it's the cubicle cells where you don't even recognize the people in the elevator.

Just a few years ago my neighborhood cleared out of women. Those of you who know me know that I have a child who's constantly breaking bones and showing up in the emergency room. It dawned on me all of a sudden that there wasn't a single mother in the neighborhood any more to take him to the emergency room while I worked.

I want to ask you a question. Did the emphasis on lower-middle-class and middle-middle-class children in the talk bother you? My assumption was that we know the figures about other families. Did that surprise you? Did it bother you?

Participant: I don't know that it bothered me, but you used the word "exploit." I understood what you meant when you said you have to exploit the high visibility of the middle-class population in order to attract attention to the problem. But the benefits that can accrue to one population are different and the problems are different from those for other populations. I had a vague sense of malaise about coming

here. I think it was because I hadn't conceptualized in my mind that the goals and objectives of the organization I am with and of my constituency may have different values. We have to determine what our values are, where we stand on issues, and who we stand with.

Lipsitz: It's an extraordinarily complex issue. Anything simple that you say is usually misguided or wrong. On the one hand, we have a real problem with stigmatizing certain children and certain families. The data seem to give us information that differs from our stereotypes. On the other hand, sometimes if you have a limited or discrete policy, as happened with Social Security or AFDC benefits, which started with a very, very limited population, it expands to a larger population. As far as I'm concerned, it's a tactical issue.

Robinson: I think there has to be a way of thinking through the consequences of certain kinds of actions before we act. That's what we didn't do, with some issues, like desegregation. Then the consequences of certain decisions and policies came full circle to undo what was supposed to be done. Using the stereotypical latchkey child -- lower-class welfare recipient -- as "bait" for drawing attention to the issue will not result in policies that meet the needs of either group.

Lipsitz: That's exactly what we hope to struggle with. I asked a question, "How universal a policy do we need?" which is a question that I don't have an answer for. And when I said this was a working conference, I really meant it. I think we have asked some troublesome questions, but I don't think that we've come with coherent sets of answers. I hope that we'll leave with more of a sense of the complexity of the questions that we're asking.

Sonenstein: You cited a number of studies that I don't know. How different are latchkey kids from kids whose mothers are at home?

Lipsitz: That is really interesting with this age group. This is an age group that tends to walk out the door. Medrich says, in The Serious Business of Growing Up, that he didn't really see a difference in the lives of children with working parents and children whose parents stay at home.

One reason may be that parents, whether working or not, don't do as much as we wish that they would do for their kids. On the other hand, this is a time in life when kids are starting to strike out on their own and seek autonomy. And whether the mother is there or not, the children are not going to be in the house. Nor should mother be the source of all information and recreation for this age group. So, that's one of the things that makes this a complex issue. I think that's one reason that you don't find great differences, in academic achievement and in behavioral adjustment between children in this age group who are home alone and the youngsters whose parents are there. Even if the parents are there, parents aren't doing much, or the kids are rejecting what's done, or a combination of both.

Participant: I was surprised when I realized this is a different latchkey issue than what I have been following. This is the first

time I have ever been with a group who were discussing early adolescent latchkey children. The programs I've seen developed are for the first grader, or first grade through sixth grade. I have not seen a community effort for latchkey adolescents.

Lipsitz: Tomorrow we are going to hear about a few examples of programs that do make that effort and what it takes to make that effort. You're right that even when a statute says "through age thirteen" or whatever, the program stops at grade six. It usually stops wherever the breaking point in schooling is. If the breaking point in schooling is elementary, meaning up through grade five, and then there is a middle school starting with sixth grade, the program stops at grade five. A lot is determined by the structure of the schools in the community.

Coolsen: You hear about complacency in middle-class parents. I wonder if it's that, or if it's defensiveness, underneath which you find a lot of fear and worry. That is, if we really looked too closely at this, what would the other options be? So we don't look too closely.

Lipsitz: I tried to say that we had put parents in a guilt-inducing bind. At the same time, I'm struck by the data of the studies. Parents seem to be lying less now. I'm sorry, but I take that as a bad sign. I think that the less parents lie about the fact that they're leaving their kids at home alone, the more it means that they're becoming increasingly comfortable with doing that. Do you disagree?

Coolsen: That's interesting.

Lipsitz: There's terrible cognitive dissonance in all this. Parents are stressed by it; they don't want to admit to neglect. When they stop seeing self-care as being neglect, they start telling the truth. I have been really struck recently by the studies coming out, with more and more parents saying, "Yes, I leave my child alone." I don't think it means that they're doing it less; I think it means they're telling the truth more.

Participant: It's more socially acceptable.

Lipsitz: It is more socially aceptable. And what does that mean?

Participant: The point is, does it make a difference whether a 10- or 15-year-old is home alone with a parent or without a parent? And what are the options? It is not just the parents that are complacent, the communities are complacent.

The materials we read preparing us for coming here triggered two things in my mind. I came thinking that I was going to talk about the programs and the young people that I work with. But what they triggered first of all are thoughts about my own early adolescence and what I use to do during 3:00 and 6:00 p.m. What was the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue for me? Also, they triggered thoughts about my own children, who are right in this age group. It's not simply an issue

of whether you worry, because even if you worry, if there are no resources in the community, no options, there is in fact very little that I can do as a parent.

Lipsitz: Right. I know that if we set up an information and referral service for this age group at this point, we would have a very small data base. That's one of the reasons we're here. I do not want to jump the gun, but I know that on Tuesday, one of the things we'll recommend is a wide array of options for these young adolescents. We have to look at how we can do that. It doesn't matter how much kids tell us about what the problems are, and how much parents tell us what the barriers are, or how complacent parents are. If there's nothing out there, then there are no options. You can study the problem from today until Doomsday. It doesn't matter. Which is one reason that we're here--maybe the reason that we're here.

Stern: Why are you concerned about the fact that there is less lying among parents, when you say certain studies suggest that kids who are left at home may be more self-reliant under certain circumstances, and that there isn't an awful lot of evidence that says that harm is being done? You also suggest it hasn't always been helpful when parents are around the house from 3:00 to 6:00. If they're comfortable, and particularly if they have certain networks, for instance if they get a phone call at 3:00 in the afternoon, as you said a little earlier, what's wrong with parents feeling more comfortable?

Lipsitz: I tried very hard to give a dispassionate opening talk to lay out the issues.

Stern: You did wonderfully with that.

Lipsitz: I don't feel at all dispassionately about this. I think harm is being done. I think we are going to start seeing awful statistics. I don't think that you can leave large groups of kids of this age group on their own, abandoned to the peer group, without adult supervision, and not start to see those statistics of alienation rising again. That's why I put in the word "yet" when I said that the studies haven't shown harm yet. I was trying to stick to the literature, and to be dispassionate. My sense is that we're sitting on a time bomb. While I am very concerned about lost opportunities, I am also concerned about beating out those negative statistics. Given the nature of the age group, the normal risk taking, and the love of adventure, when the parent isn't there and these young people have no other adult support, I think those statistics are going to turn around. I think the only reason that they have gone down recently is that the numbers in the cohort have gone down. Every time the numbers in the youth cohort go down, all the dreadful statistics go down. I think we're going to see a turn-around in that. I honestly think we have to. We're in a position right now, while there is public attention being paid to this issue, to beat out the statistics.

I didn't say that in my talk, because that's conjecture, and I was trying to avoid conjecture. I was trying to say, "When you cut through the rhetoric, what is really there that we know?" And what is

really there is a very mixed bag. But I think that those of us who know kids know in our gut that we're sitting on a time bomb.

I contradicted myself completely. I started out by saying that parents need help because they're worried. And that's true. Some parents are desperately worried. And then later on I said parents seemed to be complacent. That's also true. Some parents are. I would like to give those complacent parents a good swift kick. Because I don't think they realize what they're doing. I think that at some point somebody is going to connect the suicide statistics in suburbia with what's going on. Nobody has done that yet, even though we are always so intent on connecting drug and alcohol abuse and crime on the streets in the inner city to the latchkey issue. So I am less dispassionate than I might have appeared to be.

Participant: I think I can understand your interpretion, but I also think that it is now acceptable to be more open about problem areas.

Lipsitz: But parents don't necessarily see self-care as being a problem now. In one study, 88 percent of the parents said that they left their kids at home and that was the arrangement of choice. They weren't worried about it.

Leon: The increasing proliferation of survival skills training courses, books and pamphlets can support and reinforce leaving children without adult supervision. I think that the content of survival skills courses often includes practical and useful information for any child in any circumstance. My concern is that survival skills training can be a rationalization for leaving children in self-care. I have concern that community support for telephone "warm lines" for children and survival skills training give a sense to the community and to parents that a solution for latchkey children has been found. I think the development of these responses complement your observations that self-care is often not perceived as a problem. I think this is an issue that may be useful to look at for policy discussion and clarification in the future.

Lipsitz: A warm line and survival courses are the simplest kind of interventions that you can make. I think that's why they have become so popular. They don't cost very much, and you can staff them with volunteers for the most part. It doesn't step on anybody's toes to have the hot line or warm line and survival skills courses. They probably keep some kids from burning themselves to a crisp in the kitchen. They seem to meet an immediate worry about safety. I think that is a delusion. A child is not safe alone when a fire breaks out in a kitchen. And the child is not getting the kind of emotional support from the other end of the telephone that he or she really needs. If that's the best we can do, okay. But I can't believe that's the best we can do. And I'm afraid, like you, that the effort might stop there, that people will say, "Look, we did that and now we've solved the problem. My kid's not home alone anymore. He's got a telephone."

Let's go back to Clarence's point that when we were latchkey

children, the neighborhood group was there. Also, the church was open more hours and you could go there. It was smaller, and you could take part, and you had support there. Now churches are being locked more, and they're not there to back you up. The schools are being locked, and youngsters get out of schools earlier. So, not only is the home not there for the young adolescents, but also other institutions.

Cosette [Kies] said something on the bus to me that I wish you'd share right now. Most of us forget about libraries. Our greatest community center is the shopping mall. But the second one is the library.

Kies: I've no solid statistics on this. A number of public libraries I've visited recently are now sporting signs saying that unsupervised minors may spend only a limited amount of time in the library.

Larson: I see this happening in stores. Kids are not allowed in some stores for more than 20 minutes.

Lipsitz: That's because they want them to buy, but not shoplift.

The sign in the library really stunned me. An unaccompanied minor may be here 30 minutes, period. The library has been one of the safe, semi-supervised places where kids can hang out, get their homework done, and be with their peers. And now to have <u>that</u> starting close is a real zinger. That observation really got to me. It started this conference for me.

Participant: I don't know statistics, so this is only from personal experience. A lot of schools are consolidating. While before, a school might have 100 seventh graders, now it has 300. But it still has one basketball team. So the end result is that many children who before were given an opportunity to participate no longer can. That used to be an after-school activity for so many boys and girls. Now, granted there are girls' programs where there weren't before, but this consolidating of school districts to larger schools is really having a bad effect.

Lipsitz: The consolidation of school districts does something else, too. It creates an almost insurmountable transportation problem. Transportation is money. A lot of places can't afford a double bus run. Redrawing lines for desegregation does the same thing. There are tradeoffs, and one of them is that when you lose your neighborhood school, the school is far away, and you can't get to it or you can't get home.

Calhoun: I think we've got to look at who's left in the communities. There is a phenomenal resource there, which works in both directions in terms of possible assistance in this area. There may be retired people who are scared to death and talking behind peepholes. **Who's left? A piece of this discussion over the next day-and-a-half has to include this phenomenal, powerful resource, the voting resource of the elderly, whom we want on our side in this issue.**

Participant: I think it is very fortunate that some schools have open doors and allow adults to come in to have lunch, be there during other times of the day and even take courses for a day. Most of us would like to see some guidelines for the use of schools.

Monday, November 12, 1984
9:00 A.M. Plenary Session

LEAH M. LEFSTEIN

EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG ADOLESCENTS

You never know when something that happens to you as a young adolescent is going to be useful to you later in life. Today I am called upon to speak to you in this magnificent home designed by Frank Lloyd Wright -- and I can report to you that, as a young adolescent, I met Wright.

We met in a small town in Illinois, the town where I grew up. In those days, young people still had lots of opportunities to participate actively in their communities. Thus when Frank Lloyd Wright came to town to speak at a public forum, each school in town was asked to send a delegate to appear on the stage with him and to interview him after his speech. I was in the eighth grade, the junior high representative. I remember being awed by the crusty old master. I never had a chance to ask him a question during the interview session, however. You see, the high school representative, a sweet young thing who had obviously done her homework, was eager to show Wright that she knew about his earthquake-proof building in Tokyo. She asked the first question. "Mr. Wright," she said, batting her eyelashes effectively, "Mr. Wright, tell us all about your floating foundation." Wright reduced her to rubble with one searing glance. "My dear," he snarled, "it floats." With those four words, he concluded the interview.

Would that I could cover my own subject in four short words this morning. Rather than reducing the topic to four words, I'd like to cover four topics.

First, I want to tell you a little bit about the Center for Early Adolescence's four-year project that has led to this conference. The project is entitled "3:00 to 6:00 P.M.: Helping Young Adolescents, Families, and Communities." And I want to tell you a bit about what we've been doing with the gracious support of the Lilly Endowment in the last four years. I also want to link what we know about the 10- to 15-year-old age group -- their needs, their characteristics -- to the characteristics of effective programs for young adolescents. I want to draw that bridge between who the children are and what they need in after-school programs. And I would like to describe for you some of the exemplary programs that Joan Lipsitz, Gayle Dorman, Sue Rosenzweig, and I have seen in the last few years. I also want you to see a slide show that is part of the Center's new training curriculum, Planning Programs for Young Adolescents. The slide show is entitled "Planning After-School Programs for Young Adolescents: What Works, and Why?"

Let's begin, then, with the Center's "3:00 to 6:00 P.M." project. Before we embarked upon this project, we had developed expertise in subjects pertaining to early adolescent development and middle-grade

schooling. We had collected research and program information, and we had prepared and published materials pertaining to these subjects. When we began the 3:00 to 6:00 P.M. project, we wanted to find out what kinds of programs that serve the early adolescent age group already existed in American communities. And so we undertook a laborious search for programs. So laborious that we wrote to all 20,000 youth-serving professionals, paraprofessionals, volunteers, agencies and organizations on our mailing list. We set forth developmentally-based criteria to help them identify after-school programs that were effectively serving young adolescents in the after-school hours. Some of you here received those ballots, and some of you here also received phone calls from us as we conducted our program search.

The responses to that search were fascinating. Many respondents said, "After-school programs would be wonderful, but there are none in my area." In all, we received information about 491 programs in 42 states. And we then began the equally laborious process of contacting each of those programs with a questionnaire to gather more information. We then followed up on the responses to those questionnaires with telephone interviews. As we searched for programs and conducted the telephone interviews, we began to think of ourselves as something of an Audubon Society, tracking a species that was nearing extinction. In phone call after phone call, we would reach someone who would say, "Oh, if you had only called a year ago," or last month, or last week. "You know, a year ago we had a program, but we've lost our funding." Or we'd hear people say, "Gee, if you want to visit us, you'd better come this week, because we're not going to be able to make our payroll next week," or "We are now a skeleton of what we once were. It's too bad that we didn't hear from you last year when we had funding."

Understandably, we became rather depressed about what had been available for young adolescents and what was now available in American communities during the after-school hours.

We selected 50 programs to visit and document, because they seemed particularly responsive to the needs of young adolescents. In visiting programs, we saw some young people, youth workers, and activities that were inspiring. We went from the depths of depression at the widespread lack of suitable programs to despair tempered with some optimism. We had learned that in some places in this country, young people are thriving in excellent after-school programs.

In all, we found 12 exemplary programs that were worthy of documentation, and we studied them carefully, so that even if they were to close their doors like so many other programs before them, there would be a record of the ways in which they served young adolescents very well.

We found another 12 programs that offered valuable lessons to planners, administrators, and youth workers. The descriptions of these 24 programs can be found in our catalogue, 3:00 to 6:00 P.M.: Programs for Young Adolescents.

As we prepared the program catalogue, we learned that program staff felt a tremendous need for information about "what works" with young adolescents. The fact that there are marvelous after-school programs in little Derby, Kansas, does not guarantee that 12 miles away in Wichita, after-school programs are available for the age group. Many programs are locally based and have no national network that transmits helpful information to them. While national organizations have their networks, the local programs tend to be isolated and in need of assistance. We have been gratified by the response of those folks who are out there in American communities, struggling to carry out good programs with and for young adolescents in the after-school hours, to the materials prepared during the life of the 3:00 to 6:00 P.M. project.

One of the lessons we learned in our program search is what works and why. And that is the theme of the slide show that we are about to see. The show will describe young adolescents, where they are today, and what kinds of programs serve them effectively.

SLIDE SHOW: "Planning After-School Programs for Young Adolescents: What Works, and Why?"

When we embarked upon our program search, we set some negotiable and non-negotiable criteria by which to determine whether or not the programs were responsive to the needs of young adolescents. The programs had to be safe (remember, safety was a very important concern of parents); they had to be supervised; they had to be clean and caring. They had to have a clearly defined mission; and they had to be responsive to the needs of the communities in which they were located. Also the programs had to meet at least four of the key developmental requirements of young adolescents. Two of those requirements were non-negotiable: 1) the program had to provide opportunities for positive relationships with peers and adults, and 2) the program had to offer structure and clear limits with a degree of independence that would enable young adolescents to use their new skills without exposing them needlessly to dangerous risks.

The other two developmental requirements could come from a group that we considered "negotiable" -- in other words, every program did not have to address all of these requirements, but each program should meet at least two of the following:

- the need for diversity.
- the need for self-exploration and definition.
- the need for meaningful participation.
- the need for physical activity.
- the need for competence and achievement.

How can we determine what are the needs of young adolescents in programs? Each of us is in our own way an expert on early adolescence, because each of us was a young adolescent. You will

remember, if you haven't repressed that experience, that early adolescence was for you a time of extraordinarily rapid change. As you were changing, your perception of the world outside you changed, and the perceptions of those around you toward you also changed very, very rapidly. In early adolescence, you experienced the growth spurt (those of you who are parents of young adolescents know that you cannot keep them in jeans, they are growing so fast). You also experienced puberty in early adolescence. Thus, for the first time, you became capable of reproduction, of becoming a parent yourself. And along with that capacity came the development of secondary sex characteristics.

In Center training sessions, when we ask adults to remember their own early adolescence, they always seem to recall their dislike of some of the physical changes related to the development of secondary sex characteristics. They remember with pain either having breasts or not having breasts, being well-muscled and looking old for their years or looking young because they hadn't begun to develop musculature. They remember the sweat glands working overtime, the body odor, the pimples and oily hair. It is no wonder, then, that in early adolescence there is an extraordinary need for physical activity; that there's a high degree of energy and a corresponding degree of lethargy as young people are growing so fast.

Change and growth also indicate a need for diversity, because young people are growing at different rates. If you've ever walked into a classroom of 12-year-olds or 13-year-olds, you know that the only thing those youngsters have in common is their chronological age. A more diverse group one could not hope to see. Some of them look like mature young men or women, and some of them look like little children...and even more bewildering, their looks tell you nothing about what they are thinking and how they are thinking. Or what their social abilities are, or how emotionally mature or immature they might be.

I mentioned earlier my experience with Frank Lloyd Wright and the fact that I met him when I was a young adolescent. At the time, I didn't think of that as a particularly unusual experience. I expected to participate in my community. Although that was a realistic expectation in the 1940's and 50's, it is not a likely expectation for young people today. Today, they are likely not to think of themselves as meaningful participants in their communities.

So even though you may be an expert on your <u>own</u> early adolescence, there is a great difference between who we were as young adolescents and who these young people are today. Some of those differences were cited last night, through our discussions both formal and informal in this room and on the bus on the way back to the hotel -- and even later, in the hospitality suite.

I grew up in the 1940's and the 1950's. Safety was not an issue in those days. There were no fingerprinting kits, no belt beepers to keep track of youngsters in public places. In those days, we didn't think much about sexual abuse and child abuse the way we do today. I grew up in a house where the door was never locked. Many of you can

say the same thing about your own childhood, but how many of you leave doors unlocked today?

When I got home from school, my mother was always there, looking like a character from a Norman Rockwell Saturday Evening Post cover. She waited every day, with a plate of cookies and a glass of milk, to hear how my day at school had been.

In the mid-1940's, when I was a school-age child, 18 percent of mothers worked. My mother was at home after school; other mothers were at home after school. And there were many other adults available to us, either in the home or in the neighborhood. My grandmother visited with us for a few months out of the year. There were aunts and uncles who were frequently floating in and out of the house. Neighbors with front porches were at home and watching my every move, I thought.

When I grew up in my community, I didn't really need my mother after school, if the truth be told, because I could -- and often did -- get on a city bus (in a town of 35,000 people) and go downtown to the public library. There a young adult librarian served my needs and suggested books for me to read. I spent many, many happy hours in that old Carnegie building. There were no little signs in the library that said, "Young people are allowed here for only 30 minutes unless they are accompanied by an adult." There was an expectation that we would use the library, and that there would be sufficient staff to handle our needs.

In those days, in larger cities, there were library branches. Children and young adolescents who didn't have transportation to a central library could go to the branch library. In other words, they had access to information at a time in their lives when they had a great need for information. It was there for them in the library. And librarians who cared about them were also there.

Thirty years ago, if I wanted to play I could go to a supervised playground near my house. Ironically, we had a playground supervisor at a time when we worried less about safety than we do now. There were also many after-school meetings of youth organizations, and mothers at home were able to be den mothers and Scout leaders.

Remember the old days? It's tragically ironic that options and opportunities for young adolescents are foreclosing at the very time when they have a greater need to feel connected to other adults -- and to activities that their parents cannot provide in the after-school hours.

Now that's the bad news. But there is also some good news. In some American communities, there are after-school programs that meet our list of developmental requirements.

Let's begin with physical activity. I'm frequently approached by people who say, "We have a lot of after-school programs in our community; we have organized sports." Competitive organized sports are fine for kids who are athletically inclined, but there are other ways to appeal to young people's need to use and exercise their

growing and changing bodies. Recently Sue Rosenzweig and I visited a program in East Los Angeles called Plaza de la Raza. Plaza de la Raza meets young people's need for physical activity by offering dance courses in folklorico, ballet, jazz, and modern dance. While the young Hispanic participants exercise their bodies in a non-competitive physical activity, they are gaining confidence in their culture, in their heritage, in their ability to do something that has been passed down through the generations.

In the slide show, you saw The Upstairs, in Ames, Iowa, where kids were performing a routine that they had developed. Again, physical activity, non-competitive. In the basement of a public library in Great Neck, New York, participants do aerobics in a program called Levels. And they learn to choreograph dances and put on musical productions. For fun, not for trophies, they play softball on pleasant spring and summer afternoons.

So there are many ways to appeal to this need for physical activity. At a public library in Pasadena, California, there is a secluded patio off the children's and young adults' section where restless youngsters who have sat still too long can go to stretch, wiggle, and make noise. And there's a soundproof room inside the library where they can participate in lively small-group activities. We watched an animated Dungeons and Dragons session that did not bother the rest of the library patrons.

In the past few years, I have had the good fortune to see programs that helped young adolescents build feelings of confidence and achievement, of meaningful participation within and outside the program. In the slide show, you saw a young girl pouring milk at the Rapid City (SD) Girls Club. Young people like her help out in the Girls Club's day care facility. They save the Girls Club money, but -- even more important -- they feel good about what they can do. They are working with caring adults who model appropriate parenting behavior, and they are learning valuable parenting skills. They know that they're doing something important for the working parents in their community.

At Levels, I saw young people accepting many diverse levels of responsibility appropriate to their own development and capability. The name, "Levels," is no accident. The program helps young people develop confidence by encouraging them to achieve increasing levels of responsible activity. For example, in a Levels musical production, young people can start out in the chorus, in walk-on roles, or playing in the orchestra. As they prove themselves, they can move up to be the choreographer, the director, or the producer of the production. There is nothing as intimidating as meeting a 14-year-old who is the producer of "Pippin"!

In Derby, Kansas, young people are learning to sew, to cook, to operate computers, to speak foreign languages, and to make and sell products in Junior Achievement. Many of these activities are sponsored by volunteers within the community. I live in a sizeable, talented university community in North Carolina, and I cannot find anyone who will teach my young adolescent to sew in the after-school

hours. She wants to learn, but such classes don't exist in my community. But they do exist in a town of only 15,000 residents, Derby, Kansas, because an active community education program makes them possible.

In the successful programs that we saw, young people had opportunities to achieve, to feel confident, to know that they were participants in their communities. We saw young people taking positive risks, not the negative risks that we adults rightly fear. They take positive risks within a framework, a structure with limits, in which they can operate successfully and positively.

I saw examples of **positive relationships with peers and adults** in every exemplary program that I visited. Most recently, and probably freshest in my mind, I visited a program called CYCLE. It's in the Cabrini Green neighborhood of Chicago. Some of you may remember Cabrini Green from the time when Mayor Jane Byrne went to live there, in order to make the public housing project safe for its residents. It's not very safe. There were three people shot in Cabrini Green just a few days before I got there. I saw young adolescents who are afraid, terrified of the environment in which they live. But I saw a positive program in Cabrini Green that is serving some young people very well. **In a neighborhood where 75 percent of the high school students drop out before graduation, CYCLE takes young people and matches them with successful adult role models.** These are black young people matched with black professionals from other Chicago neighborhoods. Within the last couple of years, CYCLE has seen 22 young people go to college. These youngsters were not chosen to be in the program because of their academic proficiency. But once they became program participants, they were encouraged to stay in school, rewarded with jobs tutoring younger children, and praised for their efforts. I am encouraged that there are some good programs that are responsive to young people's needs.

What about programs that respond to young adolescents' need for a degree of independence? One that is uniquely and cleverly responsive is Detours, at the Boston Children's Museum.

Detours is a program that helps young people get around the city of Boston on public transportation. **Detours teaches young adolescents to use public transportation safely so that they can enjoy the rich cultural history and recreational delights of Boston. And Detours encourages independence gradually.** Initially, Detours participants meet at the museum, and adult guides take them to interesting places, like Fenway Park, or the Freedom Trail, or the North End. These early trips are entirely supervised by an adult guide. Later, youngsters can choose to meet the guide at the central bus station or the Metro station, thus taking on responsibility for part of their transportation. Or they may elect to meet at the tour site itself, but they still have the assistance of an adult guide. Finally, they can learn to take tours on their own, using printed guides that are prepared by the Detours' staff. Thus the participants can achieve a degree of independence with the help of the program's structure.

We must move on to the next part of our program, but I'd like to

close with a brief personal story. I had been doing site visits to programs for a year and a half, when, in 1983, my husband received a sabbatical semester from the University of North Carolina. The Center granted me a six-month leave of absence.

Fresh from having found a dearth of effective programs for young adolescents in the United States, I went with my husband and our two young adolescent children to Israel for six months. My husband taught at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I took the study of after-school programs with me. As long as I was going to be in Israel, I thought, I could see what after-school activities were available there. And I quickly began to learn through my children what a wealth of activities there were -- ironically, in an economically distressed country where mothers can and do leave work at 2:00 in order to be at home after school.

But the children are not at home. When I asked parents how they felt about their young adolescent children, they seemed to report less family conflict than parents do here. Their replies were more often like that of one mother who said, "My biggest problem is that I never see my daughter! She is busy every day after school, with Scouts, and the Nature Protection Society, and with after-school dance classes."

Parents in Israel don't cite adolescent pregnancy as a problem. Vandalism is also relatively rare. Street crime is not a problem. The streets are so safe that teenagers can ride public buses home after midnight without parents worrying.

So the young people are not at home after school. Where are they? Well, even some bomb shelters house after-school programs. You can stay at school after school hours and attend enrichment classes -- foreign languages, crafts, dance, and music. You can go to a local center for culture, youth, and sports. You can participate in the Society for the Protection of Nature, or in one of the many Israeli youth movements. Youth movements, including the Scouts, are very popular in Israel. In their youth groups, Israel's young people feel deeply connected with their communities. They perform community service activities. For example, my son joined a youth movement that went to a kibbutz on the weekends to pick the orange crop. Many members of the kibbutz were soldiers who were stationed in Lebanon. Thus there were not enough adults to pick the oranges. The kids brought in the crops that year.

Right before I went to Israel, I was at an after-school program in New Orleans, and I asked a 14-year-old boy why he was there. He said, "I'm here because it keeps me off the streets. I don't feel safe on the streets. And so I come here to be off the streets. That's my reason for being here."

The safety issue is all-important in this country. In Israel, I interviewed a youth worker in Tel Aviv. I said, "If you're not worried about safety, and mothers are home after school, why are there so many after-school programs for young people?" He looked at me as though I had come from outer space.

"Why?" he asked incredulously. "Why? Because we can't afford to waste a single life. Because these young people are the future of our country." And that is what after-school programs do for young people. They help them thrive in the present while preparing for the future. In this country, more and more people talk about helping children and youth survive. I'm hoping that we at this conference will think about helping them thrive. The issue is greater than latchkeys, safety, and working mothers. We need to address ourselves to making young people a part of their communities through responsive after-school activities.

Monday, November 12, 1984
11:15 a.m. Plenary Session

POSITIVE PROGRAM INITIATIVES

Moderator: Gayle Dorman

Panelists: Karen Bartz
Peter Coolsen
Stephanie G. Robinson
Judith Rosen

PETER COOLSEN
GROUP REPORT

I am with the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse, located in Chicago, with 53 chapters around the country. Let me tell you first what I heard at dinner last night, during a very vigorous conversation about sexual abuse prevention. Child care has gotten so much attention around the country because of sexual abuse. I think it's a shame that the point at which the child abuse prevention community and the child care community seem to be overlapping these days is around the somewhat sensationalistic kinds of events that have happened in Jordan, Minnesota and Southern California. The National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse is interested in the latchkey problem because of prevention. We do not see children in self-care as necessarily abused and neglected. We're interested in primary prevention, reducing stress, and enhancing families. So this is why we're in this business.

Let me just share one insight, and then I'll try to summarize some of what our group had to say and tell you about one program that we have been involved in. The insight is that we all seem to be coming from different constituencies. If you come from a volunteer-based organization like ours, which is looking at working parents, parental stress, and how we deal with this stress, you therefore try to reduce stress and prevent parenting problems. This is a different perspective from those who might be looking at economic issues--not contradictory, but involving different constituencies attending to different issues. The same is true of the Center for Early Adolescence, which is looking at the development of children and what is best for children. So, we are coming from different points of view, when we look at program initiatives.

Our group talked about a couple of model programs that they saw, one in New York City at Boys' Harbor and another that is part of the Girls Clubs' program, called "Operation Smart." As we talked, it became clear that our programs for school-age children relate to our special organizatonal missions. So, the Girls Clubs' network is concerned with enhancing the role of girls as they grow up in their communities. What can be done for young girls as they develop in our society and how are these programs really enhancing healthy role development? Through Operation Smart, girls are learning about computers. They are learning that girls indeed are smart, and it's okay for them to be smart and develop computer skills.

We talked about the Milwaukee Warm Line, which started recently and produced hundreds of phone calls, as a first effort in Milwaukee County to begin to offer something for latchkey children who are home alone.

At the National Committee we developed a survival skills curriculum. I think there is a lot of controversy or ambivalence among us about survival skills. Joan alluded to it yesterday when she said, "Now, is this all that we can do in our communities?" On the other hand, we have chapters that put a lot of effort, energy, and time in the teaching of survival skills. I think we need to settle this issue at some point.

Let me tell you the good news about survival skills programs. I am a father whose 13-year-old daughter walked home from school one day, opened the door, and found two burglars in the house. I began to realize that it is important to have these kinds of skills and to know what to do at least in certain circumstances, such as during a burglary. So we put together a curriculum in Kansas and tested it in Johnson County. It is called "I'm In Charge," and it is really a communications skills curriculum. There are five sessions, three with children, one with parents and children together, and one for parents alone. There is a movie with the curriculum called "Lord of the Locks." There is a parent guide called "A Parent Guide: How to Help Your Children Learn Self-Care." At the end of these, we hope that children have learned some things about safety. But more importantly, parents and children have talked about self-care arrangements, what works and what doesn't work, and what they're going to do if the arrangement is not working. It is not unusual at the end of the course to have some parents deciding to take their children out of self-care and struggling to find another solution.

I'd say that the survival skills curriculum can provide community change, a first step where we can begin to get working parents together and consider other kinds of solutions for latchkey children. For example, we did this in Seattle. The group of parents who came together formed a summer care group and began to provide summer care for their children. We're beginning to get a kind of self-help volunteer group that will make the difference in communities. They can get to the media, develop task forces, and go to mayors' offices and governors' offices. This kind of constituency is going to help us get things moving.

There are two issues that have come up about this. We begin by saying that this program is not meant to sell self-care. It is really meant to enhance communication. Also, we try not to teach anyone below the fourth grade, although in Alabama, where we have a demonstration project now, there was an outcry in the community to teach eight-year-olds, and we had to think about whether we wanted to go below the nine-year-old level. I know Boy Scouts has a curriculum called "Prepare for Tomorrow," and Red Cross and Camp Fire have curricula also.

Dorman: Peter has brought up several issues that we'll come back to, I'm sure, in the discussions later. The issue of whether survival skills training is good or bad is only one of the issues that he raised. I saw a lot of nods and shakes of heads as he was talking. We have a lot to pick up on in conversations throughout today and tomorrow.

STEPHANIE G. ROBINSON
GROUP REPORT

I am the education director of the National Urban League, which is a civil rights and social welfare organization with 113 affiliates in 37 states. "Affiliates" is an important word, because each affiliate is autonomous, with its own board of directors, and its own funding source. The relationship with the national office is an advisory one. There is a certain amount of tension in terms of local versus national policy emphases. We at the national office act as resource developers and consultants for the local staff, but we cannot impose our wishes on that staff. However, under the terms of affiliation, each local is obliged to do some programming in the five areas that the national office has established as priorities of the League. They are education, social welfare, housing, criminal justice, and health. As the director for education, my job is to provide technical assistance in program development, policy analysis, resources, and just about anything somebody wants me to do at the local level in those areas.

Our group discussed several different kinds of programming for adolescents and focused on some characteristics that were successful. There are certain things that happen in successful programs that were identified earlier by Leah. One of those was using a variety of approaches. This means that you have to have a variety of activities to deal with the need for self-actualization, the need for positive relationships, and the need for physical activity. **Programs that offered a variety of activities and some choices were more apt to be able to meet the needs of the group, because they provided choices of activities. Also, we stressed programs that were able to capitalize on the availability of resources in the community by sharing and networking.** This was a characteristic that seemed to be present in successful programs. For instance, an after-school program that was housed in three churches in the community provided physical activities in one church, tutoring and quiet activities in another, and other kinds of activities at another site. This allowed for variety for the volunteers who staffed the program, so that the volunteers didn't have to work with the same group of youngsters every day. Also, the youngsters were able to change sites.

The successful programs were staffed by dependable, usually professional people, but also had a cadre of volunteers on whom the staff could depend. Some were located in areas where there was centralized volunteer recruitment and screening. That's the Pasadena model, where there is centralized volunteer recruitment and screening for all programs in the community. That responsibility is taken off

the shoulders of individual programs and persons, and a flow of qualified volunteers is provided.

Another characteristic was comprehensiveness. For instance, Plaza de la Raza is a comprehensive youth service center, taking a comprehensive approach to families, including family counseling and ancillary health needs other than those of the individual children or of the age group. I do not want to leave out the other specific programs that were cited, but in particular I think the Boys Clubs of America program embodied many of the things that we felt were important. One of Boys Clubs' major characteristics is that the program is regularly available at all times from 2:00 to 9:00 p.m. We know there were many other good programs around, but some of them operate only one day or two days a week, and therefore, being sporadic, are not adequate for parents.

Other programs were described that met the young adolescent's need for physical activity in non-competitive ways, including a fitness program that emphasizes individual goal-attainment and individual goal-setting.

At the League, we know the problems of minority groups in education, so that at this point after-school programs in the League often include tutoring programs or career-awareness programs that provide motivation and mentoring to motivate students to stay in school and graduate. We also feel that public schools do not provide the cultural education for minority youngsters that allows them to feel a part of their heritage or that allows them to develop associations that motivate them when they deal with alienation and the feeling of being disconnected from one's group. This alienation is partly what leads to the negative behavior we see. So we feel that cultural education is very important in raising a generation of young people who may not know even their recent history, let alone the rich ancient history of African peoples. Public school education has not helped them understand that.

JUDITH ROSEN
GROUP REPORT

My name is Judith Rosen; I am the director of a fairly large county agency in Fairfax County, Virginia, that is responsible for a variety of child care services in the county. We are a large, urban county with about 650,000 people and 400 square miles. We have an inner city, we have a migrant population, we have a very suburban, high-tech population. A lot of people commute to Washington.

I'm personally very grateful to Leah this morning for helping me clarify a lot of things that confused or concerned me last night. As I was trying to sort out what my role is here and how I could contribute, since we have not traditionally been as concerned with 13-, 14-, or 15-year-olds, I was wondering how we were going to resolve that tension. As I listened to Leah this morning, I began to see that a difference needs to be drawn between people who provide program supervision and people who provide child supervision. Those

of us in the child care community think of ourselves as people who don't provide program supervision. But we are responsible for the child the entire time that that child is in our care, and we often refer to that as program accountability. A lot of the programs that I heard Leah talking about today are for the child who doesn't need a child supervision component but a well-supervised program, where a child can be engaged in one program on Monday, another program on Tuesday, and a plan that would result in a well-rounded week. That is very useful for me to consider as I think about these programs.

In our group today was Mary Frances Peters, who is representing the Girl Scouts. She told us a lot about programming for girls, essentially from ages five to 17, but she focused on 10 to 17's in non-traditional career exploration programs. She mentioned that now they have 92 badges for a variety of types of careers. I looked back to my own Girl Scout career. There may have been badges for careers, but I really do not remember them. I think this is a very exciting development.

We also discussed juvenile justice prevention and the possibility that a lot of our juvenile detention facilities may become facilities for minority groups. We discussed the fact that some people are programming for minority groups in this country in a way that might prevent children from getting into trouble with the law.

I'd like to tell you a little about what we are doing in the area of child supervision, because that's the area where I think that we have made some gains that I'd like to share with you. When I think about child care, there is no question that the child up to the age of 10 or 11 needs continuous, adult supervision. When you get to the age of 10, 11, 12, or 13, I think of those as children on the cusp. Those children, depending on the individual child and the individual family, need both supervision and autonomy. At those ages the problem we have also been wrestling with is how do we provide both supervision and autonomy? By the time the child is 13, 14, or 15, we are talking about a much more indirect type of supervision. In Fairfax County, we have what we call the School-Age Child Care Program in 45 elementary schools (that is, for children K through sixth grade). It is a before-school, after kindergarten, and after-school program. Parents pay a fee for the service that is based on the cost of care. The county's responsibility, other than administering the program, is to provide a sliding fee scale for low- and moderate-income families. Right now, a family pays the full fee when they get to 50 percent of the county's median income. Below 50 percent of the county median income, the parent pays a reduced price.

In the past we had been very successful in our program for K-4. In fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, the kids "vote with their feet." If kids don't have enough other kids their own age and enough input into the program, they're not going to stay. They are the "day-care veterans." They are the kids who don't want to be the babies any more. They are the kids who really want to be with their friends. They want to develop skills. They want to assert their independence. And they are pressuring their parents to be left alone, even when there are programs available for them. Their parents are often

saying, "Gee, I've been paying for day care for ten years. Maybe this kid can really start taking care of himself."

I think we were less successful programming for those children until we had a critical ratio of numbers of children, and we started to expand to 60 children in a program. We can now have a separate group or club for the older children. When the program has at least 15 or 20 of them, they vote with their feet to stay. They don't vote with their feet to leave. So we are much more successful when we have that critical number. Many parents and many educators will go into a room with 30 children where we don't have that critical number. The few older children are little mothers and fathers. The adults say, "Isn't that sweet? Aren't they taking care of the little children well?" And that drives me up the wall, because we are not meeting the needs of those children. I think if you came to our larger programs where older children have their own programming and their own staff, and they're out in the community more and taking more field trips, you'd see that those children are adequately programmed for.

Now what happens in sixth grade, seventh grade, eighth grade, when the children are leaving our program, and the parents are saying, "What are you going to do for us now?" We worked with the Department of Health and Human Services and came up with an idea to develop a demonstration program for those children on the cusp, who need to be out in the community and who don't need to be in a day care setting. We developed a system of family day care homes, (whom you call "babysitters"), so children could be in the community. The providers are people in the neighborhood. The children have a system of flexible care. They come and go, based on a contract. Two community organizations are sponsoring the programs. Our sense is that community organizations know their community. We worked with a day care center to run the program for us in one community and with the Camp Fire Council to run it in the other. Essentially, the organizations sponsor the family day care providers. The children are enrolled with the sponsoring organization. There is a contract between the parent, the provider, and the sponsoring organization, which essentially says to everybody, "These are the limits of the accountability of this family day care provider." On Monday the child can go to soccer, but she still comes in, checks in with the program, and spends a certain amount of time there. On Tuesday the child may go to a different type of program. On Wednesday she may be playing with her friends. It allows that child the degree of independence to move gradually from accountable care to self-care. This may be appropriate for only six months; it may be appropriate for a year. But I think it's a good model for community groups to be able to use as you make this transition from child supervision to program supervision.

I will emphasize one thing: You have to have the programs out there in the community to go from child supervision to program supervision.

KAREN BARTZ
GROUP REPORT

I am sure all of you have been in a similar position. There is an advantage to being last on the panel. But perhaps you have done what I have just done: You have changed entirely what you were going to say as a result of being last on the panel. I want to continue what was just said about this differentiation between child supervision and program supervision, because I think that differentiation is a key to the program diversity that we are hearing about here. The difference really needs to be addressed in policy. We are hearing about a variety of child care programs. We are also hearing about a variety of program opportunities for the 10- to 15-year-old group that don't provide sustained, continuous, accountable care. They are good growth opportunities, but they don't meet this other need that we are talking about.

I want to build upon the check-in system for the older child. It is really a transitional program for the child who does not like to be in a facility-based child care program and is not yet ready for full self-care. The advantage of an organization like Camp Fire being tied into that type of a program is that we provide the activities for the child within that child's supervision system. We provide the program supervision to plug into child supervision. With the Camp Fire affiliation the providers can be trained by Camp Fire and learn about Camp Fire programs. They can be trained in other program bases, like Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and others. That gives the provider many ideas for activities. It allows opportunities for those young children to achieve, for instance to earn emblems in one case and badges in the case of Scouting. That also gives youngsters an opportunity to affiliate beyond the check-in group and participate in weekend, summer, and evening activities with the organization. Early adolescents need to feel they're part of the whole community. There are service projects for them to do, again emphasizing that community affiliation. There are also younger children within that child care provider's home, so that there is an opportunity for interaction there. I think it is an ideal system for that transition period. That's my plug for the differentiation Judith made between program and child supervision.

I'd also like to encourage you to talk with Myrna Smith, from the Leaguers in Newark. We talked for a great deal of time in our group about that particular program, which is probably an ideal combination of child supervision and program supervision. It has comprehensive age groups, comprehensive programs, and an extensive array of opportunities for the early adolescent age group. I cannot convey to you her enthusiasm for that program. So do seek her out and talk to her about it. It is wonderful.

We also talked about a variety of other programs. An interesting program that triggered real attention in our group is working with a high-tech industrial park. Kids are not in that area. They're back home, while the parents are in the park. We talked about the development of some type of a connection between the parents in the industrial park and the children back home through a telephone system.

It is not a crisis system but a planned, developmental process where the adults and the children sit down and talk about how that time after school is going to be spent. The telephone system then works to carry out that plan that the child and the adult have decided upon in advance, as to how the child is going to spend his or her time after school. The person to talk to about that program is Joan Bergstrom.

As I was thinking about what was working among the variety of programs described in our group, I'd have to confirm that what is working is the program that has a comprehensive mission. We talked about a comprehensive variety of activities and also comprehensive age levels. In other words, I think most of the programs we're talking about that work for the early adolescent are not just for the early adolescent. The programs involve the adolescents either with younger or older people, getting them beyond just their own age group. We talked a lot about programs that have a prevention focus rather than strictly looking at those kids who have already been labeled "at risk." Following what Joan was talking about last night, all children are probably "at risk" to an extent in this particular age group. We want to approach this from a positive, preventive focus. What I pulled out of our group's conversation was a lot of imagination, a lot of inspiration, a lot of plain stubbornness and willingness to stick to it to get something done. In programs that work there is an inspiration or a vision of what can happen in that particular community, and it takes a lot of time to get there.

DISCUSSION

Dorman: We have ten minutes or so for questions, comments, discussion.

Participant: I was struck by some of the comments of all the panelists. But what I want to come back to for a minute are the comments about latchkey curricula and the opportunity for communication. And harkening back to Leah's comments this morning about the extraordinary parental investment in their kids, I'm wondering whether we shouldn't have as a criterion here, either for ourselves or for the Center for Early Adolescence, some sort of parental involvement, even if it's modest. Because our agenda is not just kids but also political, to make this thing go in our communities. We don't just want to be caretakers. And so I was struck by that submotif of parental involvement, and whether we shouldn't elevate that.

Coolsen: I think that is a good point. There is no one here from Boy Scouts. Their [survival skills] curriculum is going out directly to schools. It is being given, I think, from grades K-2 and beyond. My concern about some curricula is that they don't involve parents in the process. And that is a big issue. We stress from the beginning that we won't put on our [survival skills] course, whether it's in a church or a school or a corporation, unless the parents are involved.

Dorman: Just a comment. The criteria that you see up here, as I think Leah mentioned earlier, are our non-negotiable criteria that we

used in identifying programs for inclusion in the Center's catalogue of after-school programs. We also had a list of five or six negotiable criteria. When we started out the search, we included parent involvement in the non-negotiable group. If we had kept it in the non-negotiable group, we might have had two programs in that catalogue. The excellent programs that we looked at do not do a very good job of working with parents. We've been concerned that we see the program delivery model as a triangle, with the program, the kids, and parents. And very often the parents are lopped off. The programs are not doing a very good job of parent involvement, so we had to change that to a negotiable criterion.

And parents do not see themselves as a constituency, nor do youth workers see parents as a constituency. Child care providers do see parents as a constituency. But youth workers do not, and they're missing important parental support.

Participant: There are separate ways in which you can conceive of parents and involvement. One is that actual participation is built into the program and the other is for parents to have some kind of say-so either in program development or in an advisory role. In that sense you can build a constituency, even though many of these parents may not be directly available to participate because of restrictions in their schedules.

Participant: I would add a third point, that of communication, so there's some form of communication that is flowing back and forth. This may not mean direct participation, but there is communication taking place, so the support system is still there.

Leon: I would like to bring up a few issues discussed in our morning workshop. Programs for youth need to reflect parental input. When requesting parent ideas, it is important to keep in mind that parents may not be aware of program and activity options. It is important to seek input from youth workers and children and also to expose them to options.

Harbor School-Age Center in New York City provides a model. The younger children (ages 6-11) have two-thirds of their schedule set for them by staff in an effort to increase their experience through exposure to diverse cultural and recreational activities. The older children (ages 12-14) are allowed to select and choose activities for their schedule based on their increased experience, knowledge, and interests.

Our group discussed the need for diversity of program activities and the need to broaden views regarding children and program content. Stereotypes were discussed regarding the traditional roles and activities for boys and girls and the different perceptions of socio-economic groups. My personal view is that children are a lot more similar than we think they are and that all children can benefit from exposure to a wide spectrum of activities.

Our group also stressed the point that staff development is essential from a program perspective. I feel very strongly that

quality programs are linked to staff in-service training conducted either formally or informally. In the field of early childhood education, the research points to staff development as a crucial element in fostering an effective staff and a quality program. At this conference, we are looking at a group of children in a way that we have not traditionally looked at them. A policy for youth needs to underscore the importance of staff training as essential to effective programming.

Dorman: Your comment about parents' naming the kinds of things they want for their children and our need to inform them about the range of things that they might be interested in doing reminded me of something that Elliott Medrich taught us very early in this process. I think Joan mentioned our survey of parents' preferences, which we call the After-School Activities Questionnaire. When we were beginning to put that survey together, Elliott was just finishing his research with children and parents in Oakland, California. One of the things he helped us understand is that if you ask parents, "What are your children doing in the after-school hours?" they may tell you. If you ask them, "What would you like them to be doing?" it is very unusual for them to expand their view of the universe beyond what they already know. It is hard for them to say, "I would really like for my kids to be involved in producing plays the way they do at Levels," the program Leah talked about this morning, since they have no frame of reference for including that opportunity. When we question parents, we have to use the questioning as an opportunity for community education, to help parents understand that there is more in the universe than what they already know.

Participant: That same perspective might apply to young people as well.

Dorman: Exactly.

Participant: If you ask young people what some of their special interests or special hobbies are, you see how limited the range of their responses is. Bear in mind that it is the same problem.

Participant: I wonder what the feedback mechanisms are within the programs, informal or formalized, from the young people themselves. We say that they vote with their feet, but I wonder if there are formal or informal ways for us to hear them before they walk out. I know that some of the programs in New York City have a council, and that's a formal mechanism. I'm wondering if that isn't a characteristic of the excellent programs: the kids know that they can have some impact on the program's environment.

Participant: My first reaction is that they do vote with their feet, and if they don't like it they leave. But before that time you can usually tell what that reaction is by their level of enthusiasm and participation for whatever is happening in the program. Young people do not hide their reactions really well--[Laughter]--they just remove themselves from the scene.

Dorman: I think that there can sometimes be a real struggle around this issue. The program may be trying to offer diversity, but the participants also need to make a commitment to a particular activity. So you sometimes need, not necessarily formally, to form a contract with them. You can't have half the cast walk out, if they decide halfway through that the play is too difficult. A mutual contracting takes place informally or formally that is very important with this age group.

Lefstein: That is a characteristic that we saw in several of the really good programs we visited. There was either a formal or an informal contract between the staff and the kids that not only provided some measure of stability in terms of programming, but also helped to shape the program. This was another way for kids to say, "I don't want to be doing this; I'd rather be doing that." Staff listened to that on a more informal basis than having a student council or a participant governing group.

Wynn: We have seen some things happen in small group club experiences within our program, the Boys Clubs of America. Ten or twelve years ago, a program might last for three months. Now we try to do the same thing in six weeks, because the young people aren't willing to make the time commitment that they once were willing to make. In order to hold a group together and to maintain the dynamics, we have had to half the time frame in which the experience takes place.

Participant: I want to highlight what you mentioned before: professionalism and staff development. These involve really knowing the needs of the kids, knowing how to relate to them, knowing how to listen, how to exert leadership, and that's very important in working with this particular age group. I've seen marvelous people who are terrific in content, but who weren't able to bring that content to the children. I've watched what happens then: the whole program falls apart. A very important part of staff development and professionalism is knowing how to work with this age. Just because you've worked with a three-year-old does not mean you're going to be able to work with a 13-year-old.

Smith: I think we should take into consideration that children's interests change so fast. Seven years ago, the biggest program we had going was martial arts. Everything was Kung Fu. They're not even signing up anymore. You know what it's like. Now it's break-dancing and aerobics. When we had a dance, they wouldn't sign up. This gave us the idea to look at the initial registration time and see what children wanted.

Stone: As we talk about programs and program development, we need to look at the issue of making them self-supporting rather than dependent on external funding. The federal dollars and state dollars are not flowing, and a program may not get a foundation grant. We saw some hysteria about this this morning. Whatever we do, whatever we take back to our communities, I think we're going to have to take back the notion, "You're going to have to pay some bucks, and it's going to cost." I think that's critical. I don't think that we can depend

on the flow of dollars from the federal pipeline.

Rosen: Leah sparked my interest in the concept of an endangered species. Someone in our group said, "Well, is there a normal transition? Marvelous programs come and they go, and that's how it works." But I was trying to think in terms of what organizations exist out there in the community, whose main function, not whose auxiliary function, but whose main function is supposed to be providing recreation and cultural activities for this age group. As Leah was talking, I started to make a list of places that are sanctioned by communities to provide after-school opportunities. I'll just read you my list. Extension programs. When someone said sewing wasn't available, that was the first thing I thought of. I heard someone say, "We do that in 4-H." Recreation departments are out there, expected to provide recreation for the age group. After-school clubs in churches. My Lord, what a marvelous role for the churches! Park departments have this as one of their main missions. Voluntary action centers. Hospitals. I was trying to think of those organizations that are out there, that are ongoing. They're going to be there tomorrow.

Robinson: One of the programs in another community that I worked in is called Grass Roots. It did just that: it brought programs together to provide program resources. It was a consortium of all the organizations in the community. Each organization contributed staff or physical resources under one umbrella, and it was very economical and efficient. The school system provided the "glue" that held the group together. One of the main functions of the Urban League is to provide that kind of overall coordination and networking.

Dorman: Thank you very much for doing this job very well and very efficiently. We are in a good position to turn our attention to policy this afternoon. While we've talked about some very exciting examples of what is working in your own communities and across the country, we have also gotten back to some of the questions and the working issues that Joan raised last night. As we turn to looking at policy this afternoon, we will be able to place this discussion in the context of what I think is probably the basic undergirding question, defining what we want young adolescents to be doing and where we want them to be doing it. We talked about all the different places in the community that may be able to respond to young adolescents in the after-school hours, and we've also talked about what we want young adolescents to be doing. When we talk about addressing the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue, are we talking about child care? Are we talking about drug abuse and alcohol abuse prevention? Are we talking about youth development? Are we talking about survival skills? Are we talking about intervention with children who are already in trouble or at risk? What do we want in the after-school hours for 10- to 15-year-olds? I think these are questions we are going to have to grapple with this afternoon, before we can really get down to some concrete policy initiatives.

Monday, November 12, 1984
1:30 p.m. Plenary Session

JOHN A. CALHOUN

3:00 TO 6:00 P.M.: POLICY ISSUES

Introduction by Joan Lipsitz

The first time I visited Jack Calhoun's office, he was Commissioner of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families in the Carter administration. His office was a smoothly-run operation. We actually discussed ideas, including how to address the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue. And the setting was beautiful. Jack is a talented photographer, and around his office were calming, almost idyllic New England scenes. Suddenly he was summoned to the White House. Chaos broke out. The office was in crisis. Why? Commissioner John Calhoun, in shirt sleeves, had no jacket to wear to the White House.

That episode has stayed with me over the years. Jack is a man of ideas who knows how to get things done. The only new social legislation passed during the Carter administration was the Child Welfare and Adoption Act, and Jack even got Jane Russell, a Republican, to testify for it. He is talented as a powerful child advocate, a photographer, and even has a decent backhand in tennis. He worries about the large issues, and he knows how to get the small things done to get at those larger issues. But being with him is never truly a calm experience, because sooner or later, when the White House calls, or the equivalent, Jack won't have a jacket to wear.

Before he was Commissioner of ACYF, Jack was a highly innovative Commissioner of the Department of Youth Services in Massachusetts. After ACYF, he was Director of the Center for Governmental Affairs for the Child Welfare League of America. He is now Director of the National Crime Prevention Council. The theme that runs through this impressive and eclectic résumé is a concern for how public policies can help support children, youth and families, using the natural support mechanisms of home, neighborhood, and community.

In his present position at the Crime Prevention Council, he is working to take child and family issues to enforcement agents, to galvanize a group not normally seen as advocates for youth. This effort is typical of his career. He sees things at a 45-degree angle from the typical approach to youth policy efforts. Perhaps that is because when he cares about policy, he also knows about politics.

Jack is a member of the advisory board of the Center for Early Adolescence. He had to drop off the board during the Carter years, and then he offered to return once he was no longer in a position of conflict of interest. Although we are deeply sorry he is no longer being summoned by the White House, we are proud to have him on our board. I hope you enjoy him and learn as much from him as we do at the Center.

3:00 TO 6:00 P.M.: POLICY ISSUES
JOHN A. CALHOUN

Thank you, Joan. It's great to be here. I know that the reason that Joan asked me to do this this afternoon is because of my experience as a Fed, and of course you know how much wisdom we at the federal level have. The idea of wisdom was really demythologized when I was in Minnesota a couple of years ago speaking to county commissioners. This fellow said, "This is what I think of federal officials." He said, "There was this chicken farmer who wanted to increase his chicken yield. He dug a hole and he buried the first chicken feet first, and the chicken died. He dug another hole and buried the chicken head first, and the chicken died even more quickly. He dug an even deeper hole and buried the chicken totally, and the chicken died staggeringly swiftly, more swiftly than the other two. And he called the local federal agricultural extension agent, telling his tale of woe, and the response of the federal agent was, 'I'll be right over to do a soil test.'" So I think you'd better not expect wisdom from the nation's capital.

What I'm going to do is look at what I think are some macro issues swirling around the after-school issue and then focus on how we might frame these issues or embed them locally and perhaps even dream about getting them into some federal policy.

First, from the macro context, you know the demographics as well as anyone. There will be fewer children by the year 2005. There was one retiree for every 17 workers in the '50s; the ratio today is three to one. By the time my nine- and seven-year-old kids are working, if current demographic trends continue, the ratio will be two to one, which is too few supporting too many. These are extraordinary demographics. They may be changed somewhat because of immigration patterns, but there are too few of us. Astounding political ramifications will result, one of which is a scramble for resources between youth and the elderly, which I feel is one of the major issues we've got to confront -- convincing the elderly we are in this together.

I think of small things that get me off on the tangent of a day care center which was shoehorned into a nursing home in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. The elderly bitched mightily about its presence, but within six months the use of psychotropic drugs had dropped to almost nothing. The elderly would have traded their food before they would have traded that center. That is just a small vignette about how I think we have to frame this issue. We are looking at the community patterns. Last night Clarence [Stone] asked, "Who's left in the community?" Elderly people are left, and they have got to be part of our struggle.

The de-valuation of kids: We've got to be baldly honest and we get honesty from an unlikely source, Germaine Greer, in Sex and Destiny. She laments in a very eloquent passage, which I can only paraphrase, that most moral systems relate somehow to the future and ours doesn't. We don't really talk about the future. We talk more

about "me" and "now." A group of us sponsored a Vietnamese family. The whole family was working and contributing marginal incomes. One worked at MacDonald's, one worked in a car wash, others in a variety of other menial jobs. They were away most of the time. The kids were indeed latchkey. But they got the very clear message that all this work was for them. It was invested in the next generation. In six short years, the family had two kids in college (not necessarily that that's any nirvana). The point is, who's contributing to whom, for what. A family perspective is growing in local policy and indeed in federal policy, for instance in 96-272. The perspective is also shouldering its way into clinical practice.

Safety is no news to you, or the big way that issues are being framed now, whether through docu-dramas like Adam and Something About Amelia, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, or the fingerprinting craze that is going on. That's part of what is in the wind.

I also think that part of what's in the wind is letting the family off the hook. I think we have been partially responsible for that. When we testify in front of microphones, whether they are state microphones or congressional microphones, very often we in the serving community say, "Give us your tired and your poor. We'll do it. We'll do it. We'll do it." **We have a tendency, implicit if not explicit, to make everybody a victim. There are indeed victims out there, a tremendous number of victims, but why should the word "responsibility" be the wholly owned property of the New Right, as well as "family?"** Call these words what you will, Reader's Digest words or whatever, they're there and they're quite real. When I look at what the NAACP and the Urban League did a while back, in the Conference on the Black Family, to me it was one of the most courageous things I've seen in a long time, almost revolutionary. They were saying, "Yes, we've been victims of racism and structural unemployment, and the rest. But we've also made some choices." They were talking about the astronomical rise in teen pregnancy. I dare say that several years ago, that couldn't have occurred saying, "We have made some choices and some of them are bad." So I suggest to you that the cause of compassion and the language of responsibility are not necessarily antithetical concepts. This language of responsibility is out there, and I hope we can claim it in a way that balances compassion and responsibility sensibly.

Child abuse, especially some of the work that Peter Coolsen and the Committee [for Prevention of Child Abuse] have done, especially making the link between abuse and delinquency, is a wonderful way to get more people into the struggle. I am talking about crime prevention and delinquency prevention. There is now some research suggesting that we've got to be involved in the whole abuse issue, because we're going to pay for it and pay for it and pay for it. The state of Wyoming just passed a law mandating that all kids coming into the court system be screened for abuse. Were I chairman of the Massachusetts Adolescent Task Force again, which I was in '77 and '78, in which we were looking at adolescent services across the board, (mental health, public health, schools, everything), I would make the abuse issue one of my top priorities. Every child going into or

through any state or county portal would have to be screened for abuse. I know that 75-80 percent of my delinquent kids poured out of blasted and difficult families. If you look, one of the few increases in the kid field this year was the new child abuse law. So there are certain currents out there that we can use.

As Joan mentioned last night, **the latchkey situation should be seen in the context of the rising number of single parents and working women. It is staggering.** I think she quoted from her paper last night: "One generation ago 10 percent of all homes had a third or fourth adult living on the premises. Now only four percent do. **In 1982, 22 percent of all children, or 14 million, were living in single-parent families....** Finally a subtle but persuasive barrier to both the provision and use of accessible services persists in the confusion in this country about who young adolescents are and what we want them to do. Too old for a babysitter, too young for paid employment, young adolescents spend several years in a gray area which, for want of definition, we label as 'transitional.' "

Again, "the tensions between prolonged dependency and premature independence and between exploitation and participation are too powerful for easy resolution." So we put this definitional haze against the background of the after-school question, and suddenly you see this kind of lack of clarity: "While most parents agree that children under age 10 should not be left unattended from 3:00 to 6:00 P.M. and while 80 percent of parents agree that by age 16 teenagers can be left without supervision, no consensus emerged about children 11 to 15." And again on that same point, **"This block of time has become distinct, ironically, through its ambiguity. It is a negotiable zone that is not wholly education, work, or free play."** (That is from Medrich.)

So, is there a problem? I want to offer a couple more quotes from Joan's work which, by the way, I've enjoyed tremendously, both from a stylistic and substantive point of view. She's quoting from Garbarino at this point. He asks, "Is a 13-year-old at home without a parent a latchkey child or simply a teenager at home alone?" "Finding no differences in self-esteem, locus of control, personality and social difficulties, Rodman questions whether we know enough about self-care children to know whether the latchkey phenomenon contributes marginally, excessively, or not at all to developmental problems."

Can we say anything definitive about this? I think a few things do emerge, and they are delicate to play with. One is, I think we can say that young adolescents on their own are at risk. Joan, when pressed last night, was pretty strong about that. In Detroit, one in six fire calls involves a child left alone at home. (The study didn't say how old.) In Johnson County, Kansas, during a three-month period in 1980, 212 of the 451 reported cases of abuse involved children left alone at home. Of these 212 children, most of these didn't know how to reach their parents or when they'd return home. There are other statistics. It's no secret that teenagers are the most victimized in the entire population. When the elderly get hurt, they get hurt worse, are traumatized, and their lifestyles change dramatically. It's not my point to pose kids versus the elderly at all. I feel just the

opposite. We should attempt to bring them together. But in terms of raw numbers, teenagers, whether because of hopping hormones or their sense of invincibility, get hurt.

And they do hurt. 1,344,000 assaults were committed against victims 12 to 19 years old in 1983. Those are Bureau of Justice statistics. Rates among older teenagers and young adults are higher than for any other age group in the population. In 1982, 57 out of every 1,000 people ages 16 to 19 were assault victims. Assault affected people ages 12 to 15 at a rate of 41 per 1,000. About one-third of teenage assault victims sustain physical injury. In assault involving teenagers, the offender is usually a teenager. For those of you who have worked closely with adolescents, you very well know, especially in high crime areas, that you can be a victimizer one day and the victim the next. In 1982 for assaults to people ages 12 to 19, the offender was between the ages of 12 and 20 in 51 percent of the cases. So, the risk is shown statistically. Teens get into trouble more, they get hurt more, they are more at risk to themselves, and I think we can more and more safely say that there is some risk to the community.

We can also safely say that they're bored. I won't quote what was quoted, and I think the point was brought home very well by Joan last night and by Leah this morning. But how do we frame this issue? If we can say that there is some risk, and if they're bored, and if there's talent out there, if there's energy, how do we frame this issue? We don't have a child care policy nationally. The Mondale-Brademas bill was defeated many years ago. It was a close call, but it was a defeat; and I don't think we're going to see a national youth development policy.

At this point federal responses are patchy. So much has been cut from AFDC food supplements, delinquency prevention, pregnancy prevention, 96-272, Title XX (which by the way has been granted some supplements, maybe to do with screening of staff and child care training -- but the supplements had a lot to do with protectionism and fear). By the way, not much of that money is spent on this age group. Cuts in CETA and USDA have had great effects on programs for kids, especially of this age. Child care tax credits primarily benefit upper- and middle-income families. The AFDC income tax disregard hardly helps this age group. I would conclude that we're going to help a few; we're going to sustain a lot marginally, we're going to try to encourage a lot to work, and we're going to make being on welfare extremely painful. I think the nation is saying at this point that they're not going to raise the kids. And they're pretty clear about not intruding in family life.

There is a flicker of federal interest. In an attempt to stem the abuse and sexual exploitation of children in day care programs, Congress raised by $25 million the Title XX Social Services Block Grant. The extra money will be used by states to train day care staff, state licensing officials, and parents in the prevention of abuse in day care programs. That's training, but it's also part of the abuse issue that's swirling around. In the same continuing resolution Congress created a new five-year program of challenge

grants to states with children's trust funds, starting, for example, with increased fees for marriage licenses or income tax checkoffs, or to states with a major new appropriation aimed at supporting efforts to prevent child abuse. Under this program the federal government will match one dollar for every three raised in a given year by the states for abuse prevention and treatment. In terms of the latchkey issue, the Head Start bill also includes a new plan for school-age child care and dependent care information and referral. (It has, of course, been noted by many of the speakers: referral to what?) It authorized $20 million for these purposes for each of the next two years. Sixty percent of the funds are to be made available for start-up and planning of school-age child care programs, and 40 percent for information and referral functions. Actual funding for these new initiatives must be appropriated by Congress for next year. At least we have a target. That didn't exist before. We may not get the money for this, but it is, to repeat, something to take aim at on the local level.

In this vortex of what I call protectionism, we find some new actors appearing in the arena, beginning to worry about kids. We have the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, which is staffed mainly by prosecutors, law enforcement officers who really started off with a fear of kidnapping and sexual abuse. There is a lot of work in new public prosecution circles about how to prosecute with a child victim, how to have the child witness go through sensitive prosecution procedures, and also beginning to confront the issue of abuse and what it means in a larger context. It's very interesting. We're working with that staff and I would not simply caricature them as the Hounds of Heaven: "We're going to get those guys." As they get deeper into it, it's getting more complex to them. They're beginning to see how terribly difficult it is, for instance, when an adolescent doesn't want to report her father or stepfather, but wants the abuse to stop. She doesn't want him to go to jail and have the family blown apart. The Center is developing a number of materials in the prevention area. There are some interesting potential new alliances.

So how do we frame public policy? In this area it's a little like trying to nail Jello to the wall. Steiner would limit public policy to the very needy. I don't know. This business about the library sign that keeps unattended children out, which was mentioned last night, has haunted me. I think you've got to start off locally, partially as a pragmatic judgment, because I don't think we have a real shot nationally. I think we can append some concerns to child abuse. I think what George Miller is doing with his committee is absolutely extraordinary, but I think it's going to be an addition here and an addition there. Judy [Weiss] can certainly come back at me, but I don't foresee either a comprehensive national child care policy, nor do I see a comprehensive national youth policy.

I also wonder what policy is, when I think about how it starts. One can argue that policy started when Rosa Parks decided not to go to the back of the bus, when she said, "My feet are tired and I can't take it," and a revolution was started. Jessie Sargent, the wife of the governor of Massachusetts went down to visit the Bridgewater

Center for Adolescent Guidance, and an adolescent "hit the wall," which means he attempted escape, got halfway up, was tackled by a staff member, was pummelled onto the ground, and that began the revolution for the institutionalized in Massachusetts. I don't know what Jessie whispered in Frank's ear at night, but Frank maintained a firm course about what happened to kids in that state during a very turbulent period. I think of my own work in 96-272 and it's a little like Biblical exegesis, trying to slip tiny titles in, because I knew there wouldn't be much more money for kids. There's a little bit in the Child Welfare Bill. If you construe part of it in one way, you can get money for a building for kids. New York and, I think, California have been the only ones so far to do it. I'm not sure one wants to witness the formulating of public policy, because as somebody said, making policy and sausages are about the same, you don't want to watch either.

For this issue, I would suggest a policy framing that is threefold. First, it's pragmatic, not ideal. It's not close to what Leah described in terms of Israel's commitment to its children and the next generation. That is an ideal goal we should be striving for. Perhaps you will come back at me, because I am too pragmatic. But let's look first at safety.

Day care regulations failed in the early seventies. Day care regulations also failed when I was a commissioner. Nobody won. Nobody wanted the staff ratios, we had arguments over what was developmentally appropriate, and on and on. It was like a gathering of Talmudic scholars. We argued into the night. We never got regulations. But folks, we may have day care regulations because of the allegations of child abuse in day care centers in California. I think of the National Defense Education loans, when this country would not pay for higher education for people who needed it, and who couldn't afford it, until it was packaged in terms of national defense. It was not packaged educationally. There are a lot of people who are the beneficiaries of National Defense Education loans. So we may have day care regulations coming in from a completely different angle from the way you and I normally talk to each other, but they may wind up unexpectedly on our doorstep.

Parents' worries about safety are not ill-founded. I would get more people involved in the struggle on the local level. One of my dreams is to have child care advocates going to Mayor Koch, and with them is the chief of police and maybe the superintendent of the fire department. "I don't know what these folks are talking about, about the developmental stuff and goddamned staff ratios. But all I know is it's driving me crazy. We've got more damn fires with these kids, and we also are winding up picking up abused kids, kids who are calling us for help, and they don't know where their parents are." What a coalition that would be! We don't usually see that as a political coalition the way we may normally frame issues.

This report, School-age Child Care in New York State: Cooperative Strategies for Solving the Problem of Latchkey Children, has recommendations. I'm not going to demean them. But how many times have we heard recommendations for an interagency child care committee

consisting of DSS, DFY, and SED, with each of the agencies participating, and the interagency committee must prepare a fiscal analysis for the state's investment, etc. Where is the recommendation for a good 50, 60, or 70 percent of the other folks whose functions and lives touch these kids? That's not in here. It is not in most documents we'll read.

I would look at the police department, look at the fire department, look at judges as part of the group with which we should go to mayors, aldermen, and city councilmen. Joan also cites the following: "In 1971 the California Council on Criminal Justice funded a three-year community schools program in eight Sunnyvale schools that included recreation programs, teen drop-in centers, youth employment projects, and adult education. The attempt was to involve the community in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, vandalism, truancy, and suspensions, and to divert problem youths from the juvenile justice system. Project evaluators found significant decreases in vandalism, recidivism referrals, referrals to juvenile probation, truancy, suspensions, and school violence." So, there's something you can use as ammunition.

In Portland, Oregon, the year after YMCA started an after-school care program, vandalism in one neighborhood fell from $12,000 to $200. I suggest to you that here's another ally. I don't know whether Jess Wolf, from the Shopping Centers Association, would concur, but we have potential here. Now, framing this issue as a safety issue may not be as developmental as we might like, but it may work. I think that we've got to shed our professional conceit a little bit and realize that there are other people that care about kids.

In this field we can be -- "overprofessionalized" is a poor word -- but we can so quickly look to the expert. It reminds me of a vignette about Moses, who hit the Red Sea, and that wasn't on his maps. He was quite irritated. Looking over his shoulder, seeing a cloud of dust following him, he said, "Okay, get me my engineer. I've got to get across this sea." The engineer came up, and Moses said, "Look over your shoulder. See the clouds? We've got to get over this. How do we get across this?" The engineer said, "Chief, it's going to take me a year-and-a-half to do a simulation." So Moses said, "Get me my lawyer." The lawyer was in the chuckwagon, hiding. He got the lawyer out and said, "Look, you're bright, you're clever. How do we negotiate this?" The lawyer said, "Chief, the nearest law library's in Alexandria. It's going to take me at least a year to write the brief." Moses said, "Okay, get me my p.r. guy." So he found the p.r. guy, and he said, "Can you get me out of this jam?" The p.r. guy stroked his chin and said, "I don't know how you're going to do it, Chief, but if you make it, I'll give you four pages in the Old Testament." I think we can blind ourselves by talking only to professionals, to each other, and really miss some allies that are out there. On this issue I think we may be able to win. I think we can put extraordinary pressure locally on elected officials, if we've got the right groups -- and new groups -- talking with each other, focusing their energies on the right political point.

Framing number two. Joan, whom I love dearly, and who is writing

an extraordinary amount, if I may pick on you for just one second, this "Introduction" does not represent the rest of your writing, which talks about the theme that I want to emphasize. This says, "Too old for day care, too young for drivers' licenses and most after-school jobs, 10- to 15-year-olds are often aimless, bored, or frightened in the after-school hours. They have few personal or community resources to depend upon. Despite the fact that the need for services in this age group is probably greater now than at any other time in our nation's history, after-school activities for young adolescents have dwindled in recent years." The phrase I want to jump on is this: "the need for services of this age group." They do need them, and in the rest of her paper she's talking about the point I'm going to make now. **We always seem to frame things in terms of "the need for services." Can we not say, "There is a need for services, but what of the need of youth to serve?"**

The whole theme of the youth as resources. There is a wonderful statement that Joan has quoted from Konopka: **"Adolescence is a time of life characterized by striving for achievement and competence." This view of adolescence is so radically different from social sterotypes that it bears underscoring.**

Konopka talks about adolescence as an "age of commitment," a move into "true independence....Commitment includes a search for one's identity but also points toward the emotional, intellectual, and sometimes physical reach for other people as well as ideas, ideologies, causes, work choices." According to Konopka, to acknowledge adolescence as an age of commitment is to elevate it from a stage to be "endured and passed through as rapidly as possible to a stage of earnest and significant human development." Also, "because we give adolescents no opportunities for acknowledged competence beyond academics and athletics, and because we fail to invite the contribution they are ready to make to their communities, many adolescents are barred from adult recognition." I adore these quotes.

I think we have to rethink how we frame this issue. **We can certainly frame it in terms of the need for services, but politically we're going to be in very good shape if we say, "Look, we are also offering you a community service."** In Washington, D.C., kids get school credit for working with the elderly. It started off as a crime prevention program. They are giving Operation Identification advice, and they are escorting the elderly while they cash their social security checks, and an unintended reciprocity has occurred: the elderly are beginning to volunteer in schools. Now I regard that highly from a human level, but it also delights me politically, because it means that at budget time, we have seniors together with kid advocates.

Urie Bronfenbrenner at Cornell has talked long and hard about a curriculum for caring. Why shouldn't we require students in high school, woven into the warp and woof of the curriculum, to give something back to their communities? They're ready, they're able. It **seems to me if we frame it only in terms of the need for services, we get ourselves into a little box where people say, "We can't afford it." A lot of people, as the literature is showing, may really not**

think after school programs are necessary. They seem relatively confident. But maybe we should frame some of these issues in terms of both the need for services and also the need and the readiness of adolescents to serve. That library example continues to haunt me. Kids should be working in libraries. Kids should be working in day care centers.

I think one of the best programs I ran as Commissioner of Youth Services in Massachusetts was a restitution program. It had struck me how many kids said, "Yeah, I ripped somebody off, but I had a lousy lawyer." "Yeah, I stole a purse, but the damn judge doesn't understand." There was a curious conjunction of admission of guilt with denial of any human connectedness. "Yeah, I broke the law. So what?" We had the youth meet their victims, with community people as mediators, and the sentences all had to do with restitution. They had to give something back. And the messages we gave were twofold: One, you've taken something. Give something back, because you are responsible. Two, you've taken something from the community, you are able to give it back, and we in the community need you. I maintain that delinquent kids, rarely, if ever, get the message that they are needed. "A, You're responsible," and "B, The community needs you."

One vignette I'll never forget is one kid who busted out of every one of my hallowed programs: group care, foster care, everycare. We couldn't keep this kid in. He wound up in superior court, handcuffed. This kid had Byzantine eyes, very small and cherubic looking, and was a 14-year-old shotgun bank robber in superior court in Boston on the twelfth floor. Crying, he had the officer unlock his cuffs because they were too tight. He jumped out the window, he grabbed the scaffold, (the brick was being pointed), he slid down the ropes and disappeared for six months. So, we got him into a restitution program where he was cleaning up the park with twelve other kids. It was a park that hadn't been used in years and was being opened. I could not believe that this guy was still in the program. I went out to see him. He was raking leaves, and I said, "Bobby, you're still here. This is unbelievable." I asked, "Why are you still here?" He said, "Because you got me a job." I said, "That's crap, we've gotten you about 40 jobs." He thought for a minute, and he looked over to a beach that hadn't been used since World War II and was filled with glass and automobile engine hulks. He said, "See them beaches over there?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Some kids in my project are going to be able to swim there this summer." He felt needed, useful. Now whether he was a supercon, or whether he believed it, I don't know. It was a good answer.

There are youth movements in Europe giving something to youth. The youth are saying, "Hey, we're able, we're ready. Give us a chance." But where is all that energy spent? We are trying to contain this energy or control it or counsel it out of them. Let's use it! So that would be Framing Two -- opportunities for service.

Policy Framing Three. I don't quite know the hook or the word to call it. Maybe it would be "economic self-interest." There's a mayor of Seattle, of whom you may have heard, Mayor Charles Royer, who

claims he's going to make Seattle the first city where kids can live. Now, he likes kids, but he has also done it because he sees his tax base eroding. This is from the Oakland Tribune this summer:

> Seattle has embraced what may be America's first-ever "kids-first" city policy....It's the centerpiece of Mayor Charles Royer's audacious promise "to make Seattle the very best city in the nation to raise a family."...Royer claims there's a compelling need to reorient city policies for children. Since the late '60s, his city has successfully lured thousands of affluent, talented--but often childless --young professionals. As for the elderly, Seattle has spared no effort to please them --subsidized housing, free taxi scrip, recreation programs, lunches in schools, and much more. But for children, there's been precious little.... Too often the city exposes them to physical risks. Museums, restaurants, theaters are haphazard in their attention to children. Neighborhood parks, libraries, and schools have been the neglected orphans of urban revival.
>
> The media dwell on urban crime and the fallacious idea spreads that there's a mugger or molester behind every city parking meter. Realtors commonly steer newly arrived families toward the suburbs with the comment --"You have kids? Then you don't want to buy in the city."
>
> The cumulative results for Seattle was that children accounted for most of the 40,000 population loss the city suffered. [Some of his policies included]...a 911 emergency system to help children calling for help by automatically displaying the address of the caller....
>
> In a town where two-thirds of children are "latchkey" kids, rarely going home to the smell of baking cookies, city government will offer bonuses to developers who include child-care centers in their projects. The school system will be urged to be more aggressive about offering all-day child-care centers in elementary schools. City employee benefits will include new leave options for paternity and adoptive parents, plus sick leave for parents caring for ailing children....There'll be pedestrian safety improvements designed for children....
>
> All these "tiny little pieces" of innovation, Royer says, combine to send out the signal-- we want to maintain families and kids.

He does, but it's also economics. It's like any other big city: they're losing population. This came home to me when we were looking for a secretary for a couple of months. We can't pay Washington rates. The first two times we put the ad in we got one or two responses. Then we put an ad in which said, "Flexible hours for child care." It worked, which is very, very interesting.

It's complicated. For instance it seems to me impolitic to attack the fast food restaurants which employ kids. Maybe they should

be our allies, contributing to programs and trying to create more Mayor Royers. On the one hand they're using these kids (of course the kids are getting paid). But companies may also be involved in an Adopt-A-School program. I think there is an economic argument which can be made in cities which are losing population for the tax base. I daresay many people would move into a city in an area where they were offered flexible, really good programs for kids in the afternoon.

So, safety and the ramifications of that, kids as resources, and economic potential are my three policy framings.

I do happen to believe that the ball's in the local court. Judy [Weiss] knows she can come back at me. I think there is a tremendous opportunity for new bedfellows: business, human service professionals, day care people, law enforcement, judges, local groups serving kids that have been there for a long time like the Boys Clubs and others. I think we're looking at a potential new locus and a new blend of energy here.

And now this is my Howard Cosell prediction. In the next four to six years, after we've plumbed the depths of local capacity with new allies for kids, we can say very clearly and very loudly that we have tried "X" and we can do it, and we've tried "Y" and we can do half of it, but nobody's doing the other half of "Y," and nobody is doing "Z." And you, the federal government, must do it. And the voices who will be saying that are not just you, but maybe the vice-president of MacDonald's, and maybe the Mayor of Seattle, and a group of day care advocates, and a number of others who are involved with kids. So maybe we're going to have to defer the Israeli ideal, and stitch and patch this public policy until we get to that point. But I do think there are some things we can do that can be of tremendous benefit to this age group. Thank you very much.

DISCUSSION

Weiss: I'm not going to come back at you because I agree with a lot of what you're saying. One of the reasons I agree with you is that since 1981, a lot of resources have been turned over to the states, albeit limited resources, and so there probably is a lot more that could be done at the state level and the local level than could have been done before. But I also think that we shouldn't forget the national level, particularly given some of the issues that have been coming up lately, particularly the safety issue. It seems to me that we may have a hook there, and we may be able to get a little more money out of the Feds, using that particular issue, as was seen with the continuing resolution at the end of the session. So we need to continue to push a little bit on that level too.

Calhoun: Thank you for saying that. I didn't mean by saying one that we drop the other. I just don't think we're in for a nationally funded latchkey program, or a national day care or youth policy. I've devoted a lot of my life to hanging onto these laws and to having them funded as best we can. And we must passionately continue. But I frankly don't think it's worth much energy at all at this point. I

don't think we can do it, given what's going to happen. So I think you're absolutely right, but I would absolutely quintuple my efforts on a local level, both for kids and the political benefits that I think we'll see in "X" years. The tennis ball's there, and I think it's going to come back, but there are going to be different players on the court. That's my dream.

Furia: When you were talking about the local level, are you talking more about the individual states, or counties and cities? Do you think that states need to take the lead, or do you think the local cities can do that? Or do they have to work together?

Calhoun: I think it really depends on the state. My state of Massachusetts is so small that the state is almost a city-state. If you could do New York...I wouldn't be prescriptive about it. If I were in Massachusetts, I'd start on the state level. I don't know what I'd do if I were in your state of California, whether the county level is the power there, or how to go about it. I don't know whether New York City is the place, or a part of New York City. Maybe I'm getting more simple-minded the older I get, but when I think about Rosa Parks, when I think about Jessie Sargent, so much of that effort begins with a very personal local commitment, and people sticking with it. So I don't think there's really a prescription of how you weave this thing, I really don't, except that we've got to get out of our professional boxes.

Clause: I don't know why I brought this along, but it's my frame of reference for what's happening in Des Moines, Iowa. This is a campaign bill relating to child abduction, since two children who deliver the Des Moines Register newspaper have been abducted in the last two years. There is big money to find a reward. Our child abuse and neglect council is trying to decide, do we work with folks on this particular issue, or do we continue to work on our other issues, like huge numbers of juvenile offenders, and victims of sexual abuse, and so forth. Friday, we had a meeting for the first time with the county sheriff, the county attorney's office, the attorney general's office, and the FBI, and the DCI. It was the first time they'd ever been in a room together. So our council's really trying to work with these folks, asking what is really happening with child abduction. We're getting reports of huge attempts. What are the services in our community? This local, sensitive issue has the public in a very alarmed state in Des Moines, Iowa. You'll see every truck, every grocery bag from a supermarket, with these children's posters on them. But how do we use that as an opportunity, constructively, to work for other things?

Calhoun: I was just thinking, Jay Howell, who's running the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, is a very tough Republican prosecutor out of Florida. I'd just bet my bottom dollar that if anybody tried to mess with the Child Abuse Law, Jay'd be up there and back with a microphone, and he may be one of the strongest advocates for our increase next year, because of what he's beginning to see. His whole world has been prosecution, but now it's changing. I'm not saying that's salvation either, at all.

Clause: But they are professionals that have been used to working with children as delinquents, not children as victims. And now they're willing to look to us and ask, "What can you tell us about sexual abuse and how do you identify it?" "What is prevention?" "You mean, all these children that are prostitutes in our community, every one of them had been seriously sexually abused in their families?" Also, they are receptive to prevention. "Yes, that's what we're trying to do in our school systems. Will you help?" So there was a small bit of excitement.

Calhoun: I think the thing we've got to swallow is very frustrating. Joan said it very eloquently: Is this all we can promise? Just safety? And that hurts, because it ain't the best clothes we want to dress up in. But it may be politically where we can get a lot of allies, and really get started, and hang onto a lot of laws, and anchors, and get some more people in with us.

Wurf: This is another subject. In terms of the $20 million start-up authorization--I don't have the language in my head, but isn't there a requirement that HHS has to produce model day care regulations? I'm very interested in who's producing those. I think within a year or a year-and-a-half, states are to produce similar models. None of these are mandatory regulations, just models.

Weiss: Yes, within 90 days HHS is supposed to come up with model guidelines that will be distributed to the states and then (as you said, it's just model guidelines) by the end of the fiscal year, if the states want to keep all of the money that they get, which of course is not very much money, they must come up with a system for checking the backgrounds of child care workers.

Wurf: This really is an aspect of the legislation that in fact exists, and I have heard little attention paid to that. We in youth agencies question who will frame these regulations, even though they are not mandatory, so that they might be useful.

Weiss: I think that HHS could definitely use some input from youth workers.

Calhoun: When, Judy, does the 90-day clock stop ticking?

Weiss: In mid-January.

Monday, November 12, 1984
7:30 p.m. Video

YOUR CHILDREN, OUR CHILDREN

DISCUSSION

Gayle Dorman, Moderator

Dorman: This segment of the series, "Your Children, Our Children," is an example of what some personal advocacy can do, because at first it was not going to have anything in it on this age group. We are very proud of this particular segment.

The videotape raises some issues that we've been discussing all day. One that we talked about in my group this afternoon was the problem of how you frame this issue. In the videotape it was defined as a child care issue. Some of the concerns around that are, who pays, what are the stresses on families, what happens when the kids age out, and zoning regulations. The videotape raises a lot of issues that we've touched on throughout the day. To debrief after the videotape, I want to ask you, "What did you know when you came here, or what have you learned since you've been here that helps you grapple with some of the issues that the videotape suggests and that we've been talking about today?" or "Are there some things that you've seen and heard here that have made you grapple with these issues for the first time?"

Participant: One of the things that came up in our group was a reaction to the words "child care" and the emphasis that Joan helped us obtain last night in seeing that we are talking about an issue larger than child care, if you define an early adolescent as being more than a child. For some people, this was the first time they really saw that problem in its context -- what's happening to these young people in our society.

Dorman: That was crystallized today when Judith [Rosen] was talking about child supervision vs. programming for this age group.

Participant: And on the other side of that I think it's also the case that some people who run programs for youth, which they see as educational, do not recognize that it's also a child care problem. So it's both sides.

Coolsen: I think what this reinforced for me is the notion of a self-help movement of working parents coming together and enforcing solutions. This reinforces something that I feel strongly about, that the working-parent constituency will help squeeze out some solutions that may well be there.

Dorman: We can piggyback strategies, as Jack [Calhoun] was saying this afternoon. It's probably going to be in local initiatives that we'll see some effects. Also, although we know that we want to provide these kinds of programs for kids, because we know that they will promote healthy development, we may have to frame our strategies

around the safety issue or the child care issue, to get the political clout and the funding to get it done.

Robinson: On the other hand, the end of the film showed how parents got together and advocated for the services on their own behalf. But the last, a black woman, lost her job. I feel it speaks to the isolation among black parents and their inability to accomplish that kind of self-organization on their own behalf. That's one of the things we have to address. Black parents do have the responsibility to help themselves. Victims need devictimizing. However, the intrapsychic and societal support systems did not exist the same for the black mother in the film as they did for the white mothers. The film leaves us with several possible impressions: 1) The black mother didn't care enough to fight for her job and child care; 2) she didn't know how to fight; and 3) she wanted to go back on welfare. It is very dangerous to allow the possibility of these interpretations of her behavior to exist.

The white parents were able to influence the system on their behalf. Certain conditions must preexist in one's experience in order for one to be able to take such actions on one's own behalf.

The needs of minority and poor parents can be framed in the policy framework of safety, service, and economic resources. However, "economic resources" for black women has a different meaning. Their jobs are often more marginal, their tenure more tenuous, and their isolation from societal support systems more severe.

We must differentiate the needs of this group without being exploitive or condescending. Policy must recognize a continued need for some federal presence.

The other issue we have to address is economic. The Urban League had a series of roundtable discussions with economists, child care specialists, social scientists, and educators looking at the issue of child care from an economic standpoint. We wanted to know what the impediments are to the economic development of black families and black women, and how child care fits into economic growth and development of black families. It is an economic issue, and it is an issue for blacks that relates to family stability, growth, and development, with strong policy implications.

Participant: I think we have to continue to market the concern, and put it on t.v. and any other medium that we possibly can, because there are still a lot of people in the country who don't conceive of the notion of youngsters 13, 14, and 15 as being incapable of being home by themselves. When you see a six-year-old taking care of a three-year-old, then you begin to look at the issue a little differently. For many people, for communities all over this country, I think there is no notion of the problem that we here fear. Many people will say to me, "What do you mean, this is a problem?" So I think we have to keep talking about it. We've got to keep this kind of pressure on, so that people can become aware.

Espinoza: It's important to recognize that, although the

solutions will be local, there is no reason why local groups cannot profit from other local solutions that have been implemented. So there's a need for finding out who's doing what, where, and being able to bring that cumulative experience to bear on the ones that are just beginning to solve the problems. If not, we will be doing the same thing all over the place without benefitting from the accumulated experience.

Dorman: The School-Age Child Care Project at Wellesley has done a good job of that. They don't get very much into programming for the age group we're concerned about, so we work very closely with them, referring people back and forth. They serve the purpose that you're talking about.

Participant: I thought what was interesting in that film was the insensitivity to needs displayed by most of the corporate-private sector. The woman lost her job, and she went to personnel, and she explained the situation. But there was still a lack of real concern and sensitivity. Also, toward the end, in the group that was at the house, one woman said that everyone that complained had older children, children not of that age level, who had needed care. I'm sure that they were thinking that their parents stayed home. So how dare these parents go out and leave the kids in our neighborhood?

Lipsitz: There's been a covert value judgment placed on these parents going to work. Marie Oser, of the Texas Institute for Families, has worked in industry with parent education. I think it was she who was telling us that in big corporations, men who were the power holders began to understand child care issues, when it was summertime. Divorced fathers had their children for a couple of weeks, and the phone calls started. That's when she began to see some sensitivity in the corporations. There was alarm.

Larson: I think one of the neat things coming out of the feminist movement is a realization, "Hey, we've learned that there's 'father'." And I think we need to bring that forth more than we do. Whether fathers live at home or not, they have a responsibility to that child.

Orum: One other thing that the program brought up was the total absence of evening care for the children. In our community we have a lot of people who work two jobs and work swing shifts to make ends meet, and I know that there are children being left at home. We see incidents in Washington, D.C. of kids dying in fires. And it's especially critical in a community that doesn't speak English, if there are no social services. We have one group in Oakland now that is beginning to develop after-hours day care on a drop-in basis. But I don't know of anybody who's providing regular evening care for children of any age.

Participant: I think another facet of what Joan stressed last night is that this is not just an issue of working parents, but it is also an issue of "opportunities lost." Kids need peer relationships and need relationships with adults other than families. They need opportunities to explore in environments where there are limits, and

so on. Most important is the urgency of care for children of working parents, particularly for children of working single parents. That's the most urgent. But I think if we're viewing the whole question, we ought to keep in mind strategically that the concern is an even broader one of developmental needs.

Participant: Even if we have to organize strategically around the working parent issue, I think it's really, really important that, along with that message, those of us who care about the larger issue communicate that this is good for kids, and this is why it's good for kids.

Participant: What sobered me about the film is not only the loss of the job, but the neighbors' reaction. There were neighbors there. Presumably, that's a fairly stable community. Admittedly that [the family day care home] wasn't just a family, but a modest business. But what's going on with those folks, their lack of investment and lack of feeling about these kids, that they could use the term "business," as opposed to the fact that this is part of the larger community, and its well-being? There's a frightening political gap there that you can see in school bond issues. Who votes for what? To me, it's beyond development.

Participant: The media is such an important trend setter in this area. I don't know if it sets opinion or reflects opinion. You can argue that. But I've heard Lynette Long talk about some of the media's reaction to her work, how they pick up always on the self-care issue, saying that we can't sell guilt to parents. "I don't want you to tell us how bad it is to leave your children home. I want you to tell these parents how you can prepare your children for staying home alone." And she has said it has affected what she presents. They don't want to hear the research on the other side. They want to hear how to prepare for self-care.

Dorman: And we have the very difficult job of educating the media, so that we can get the broader word out, that there's more to addressing this issue than self-care.

Wisely: Jack [Calhoun] made a point earlier about new alliances. Beyond the content of this film, what kinds of alliances have to go into making a national television program of this caliber, and all the groups and contributors that work on this kind of program? It's too bad that our time is short, so we had to cut off the acknowledgements at the end, because I know how expensive it was to produce this series. I know how hard it was to raise the money to get it produced. I know how hard it was to arrange the cooperation of all the national organizations and their local affiliates to publicize it and put on local programs and follow up on it as it was aired, creating the talk shows and the local groups that followed up on it. It's a resource that's not going to be used just once. It's been used now several times, broadcast in the daytime and in the evening. This is a good example of the kind of alliances across corporations and school systems, youth-serving groups, public television, public radio, that have to be created if there's going to be broad awareness of what needs to be done. I think it's a good example of how difficult that

is, and also that it's possible.

Wynn: I recognize the heroic, gigantic sums of money for something like this. But then I look at the movies on several topics that have been on prime-time t.v. that have been in the entertainment genre and have created such impact across the country. When I heard you talking, I immediately began to think about the Center for Population Options and what they've been trying to do in the area of sexuality. They put a person on staff to work with all the sitcom people, trying to get those issues built into sitcoms, for public awareness. It seems to me that dollar for dollar, that is a good investment in terms of broad public exposure in the mass communications entertainment field. PBS is great, but you know your audience is still limited. You have to get to that mass audience if you're going to get that kind of reach.

Tuesday, November 13, 1984
9:00 a.m. Plenary Session

POLICY BARRIERS AND INITIATIVES

MODERATOR: Joan Lipsitz

PANELISTS: Mabel Leon
Lori Orum
Leonard W. Stern
Judy Weiss

JUDY WEISS
GROUP REPORT

What I'd like to do this morning is briefly to go over what we discussed at the barriers and initiatives workshop yesterday, then focus a little bit on what the activities of the Select Committee for Children, Youth, and Families have been over the last year, particularly in regard to child care. So I'll start with the brief summary.

After initial discussion, we finally realized that we were talking about three different things; first, that there were policy barriers; second, that there were barriers to policy; and third, that there were also barriers to program development. Then we also asked, "Whose problem is this anyway?" Is it a community problem? Is it a federal problem? Is it a family problem? And from that, who should pay for these programs? I think those are important questions to ask before you start thinking about policy. What we decided to do, given all these questions, was to formulate our own policy statement, which I'll read for you:

"We recognize that young adolescents are an age group that are resources for their communities, and are potentially at risk of being harmed and of harming their communities; and that community-based after-school programs enable families and young adolescents to carry out their responsibilities."

Given that general statement, we then proceeded to come up with a list of barriers, which fall into all three categories of barriers that I listed before. I will go over them briefly with you also.

What came up, just about from the start, was transportation. It is something we've been talking about over the past couple of days, that is part of the barrier of inaccessibility. But programs' inaccessibility can also mean that they are located in unsafe neighborhoods, or that they are not convenient, or that they are psychologically or culturally inaccessible to the community. Along with that is programs being unaffordable, which is financial inaccessibility. Or not available for lack of program options. But after we decided on those barriers, we also said that we have to come up with different terminology for discussing these three barriers, because when you talk about accessibility, affordability, and

availability, immediately people think about child care. We have to distance this particular age group and the problems of this particular age group from the general child care problems that we're all familiar with.

We mentioned competition for resources among age groups, given the cutbacks in Title XX, and the lowering of the age of eligibility for the USDA Child Care Food Programs to twelve. Given the few resources that are currently available, there is real competition between funding three-year-olds and funding 13-year-olds. We discussed the lack of coordination between programs, for instance libraries, extension services, the park and recreation programs, and non-profits. Nobody has sat everybody down together and said, "Okay, we need to think about how we're going to take care of our community, and who can provide which services."

Then there is the problem of cost to the programs. What we found out is that the problem of cost varies in different locations and states. For instance, unions can pose a barrier in places like New York or in Michigan, or in different states where there is a high degree of unionization; whereas in Fairfax County, Virginia, unions are really not a problem. So it's easier for programs to get into the schools since cost is less of a factor in keeping the building open and paying for janitors. Then again, there's the cost in terms of the cuts in Title XX, and other funding sources. There's also the problem of cuts in the feeding programs. If programs can feed kids up to age twelve only, either they have to exclude older kids, or they have to not feed them -- or they have to lie.

There are also barriers to other child care programs as well, such as liability insurance, licensing, and zoning problems. We also discussed staff development as a barrier, since if there is no training available, it's going to be difficult to create or run good programs.

The issue of libraries came up, and there was controversy in our group about the role the library should play. Some people felt that it was inappropriate for libraries to be considered places where kids should just go and hang out, with the librarians serving as surrogate babysitters. Other people felt that what we need to do is redefine the role of libraries and to provide resources to them, so that they can provide programming to young adolescents. That would also include museums, parks, and recreation departments.

The issue of schools and where schools fit in brought up another barrier of age in such federal programs as NEH and ACTION, which limit participation to teenagers 16 or older.

Another general barrier is the non-recognition of need, both in the community and among parents. If people don't see the need, then that's a real barrier to creating programs or to formulating policy. Along with that is the general lack of data about the need for care, like how many kids are out there, which is true for all age groups.

We also came up with a list of initiatives, both initiatives that are currently in place and initiatives that we would like to see happen. Because I think it will be helpful in our next discussion about strategy, I'm going to talk a bit about what we'd like to see happen.

We would like to see coordination among the different programs that are already out there. There seems to be some controversy about whether in fact there has been a cutback in services, or whether people just don't know what's available. So we have to address that issue by bringing together the different agencies and programs that provide services for this age group.

Someone suggested that we need to provide incentives for developers, that we need to explore the world of shopping centers and malls, and that there need to be new alliances, as Jack [Calhoun] was saying yesterday, in providing p.r. about all family services that are available in a community. ◀

I'm going to skip the rest of my talk and go on to the Committee, because I'm running out of time.

The Select Committee has just published a report on child care [Families and Child Care: Improving the Options], which grew out of a national child care initiative that the Committee first formulated in the spring, after a year of hearings around the country, which looked at the condition of children, youth, and families in the United States. The issue that came up over and over again was the need for child care, its barrier to employment, and the problems that it caused for working families. Everywhere we went, child care came up. George Miller, who is the chairman of the Committee, decided to focus specifically on this issue. We held a series of hearings around the country and in Washington, specifically on child care. What was unique about the initiative was that we had bipartisan support from the beginning. This is the first time that there has been this kind of bipartisan support on the issue in Congress. It's also the first time that Congress has taken a systematic look at these issues since the early '70s, when Mondale pushed his program. The difference between then and now is bipartisan support. ◀

The Republican members of the House are now being forced to look at child care because of what's happening in their communities. There are Republican women who are in the work force, and they are putting pressure on their representatives to do something about the issue. It's a problem across the country, as we all know.

The report looked at the need for child care among all the age groups: infants, preschoolers, school-age; current child care arrangements, and the barriers as well as the effective programs.

We also looked very closely at what the private sector is doing and found that, while there is some interest in various sectors, very little is currently being done, although there is a lot more than had been done in the recent past.

What we then did was to come up with findings and recommendations. I had xeroxed and put out on the table the introduction and the findings and recommendations from the report. You may have been able to pick up a copy. The report is actually a lot thicker than that, and you can get it either from the Committee or from the Government Printing Office.

Our recommendations covered six areas, including tax policy and possible revisions to help families pay for child care. We looked specifically at the child safety issue and child abuse in child care settings, and the role that child care can play in detecting and preventing child abuse. This was an issue that came up again and again. Recommendations about that included cutting off federal funding to states that do not have adequate health and safety standards, or continuing the credentialing of child care providers through the Child Development Associatee, expanding information and referral networks, and networking organizations.

There were some recommendations concerning infant care and recommendations on supporting child care in general, including increasing funding for child care, and particularly for revising the AFDC disregard so that it would facilitate families' making the transition from AFDC to employment. We recommended training, to help make that move to permanent employment. We recommended restoring the food program to three meals and two snacks.

There were also recommendations concerning the role of the private sector and encouraging the private sector to become more involved in providing child care.

Finally, we recommended looking at the role that schools can play in providing child care. One of the recommendations was that Congress should make incentive grants to public schools and non-profits in developing before- and after-school programs, using public and private facilities, and incorporating a sliding fee scale.

LORI ORUM
GROUP REPORT

You're going to see some remarkable similarity between my talk and Judy Weiss's. I'm going to take a little time to talk about the group and a little bit of time to share with you some of the concerns of my organization.

The big issue we started with was lack of public awareness, and the fact that for many of us this is an invisible population. The particular age group isn't in the consciousness of people, nor is there much information about it. So one of the biggest barriers to policy is the need to bring forward the needs of this group, gathering information and bringing it before the public. We started to flesh out some strategies along that line to make it a more public issue.

We also talked about the fact that there are incredible jurisdictional hassles. Because of a lack of coordination of

services, you sometimes have the child care office versus the parks and recreation office. Or local levels don't cooperate as well as they should with state levels. And national and local organizations aren't well hooked up. So we have a tremendous number of policies and programs that are not articulated.

We are faced with competing for resources, especially agencies that have small budgets and meet life or death situations. Sometimes this age group is not the highest priority. As Joan [Lipsitz] mentioned, infant care and early child care are tremendous draws on limited resources.

We talked about the fact that in order for child care or adolescent programming to work, it has to be conceived of as the responsibility of the entire community, that it needs corporate involvement, business involvement, and local agency involvement. In other words, everybody, including the parents, have to conceive of it as a community project and a community responsibility. And the barrier is that right now, that certainly is not the case. After-school programs for the age group are not perceived as a general community responsibility.

Another barrier is that school policies have to change. If the schools continue to think of themselves as the agency that educates between 9:00 and 3:00, and that's when their responsibility ends, then that's no longer an adequate policy. The same argument holds for some of our after-school organizations that view themselves as a once-a-week or one-child effort, or a seasonal effort open at the wrong time of the year. In Los Angeles we have some year-around schooling. But we still have parks and recreation staff that are available only during the summer months, while those kids are in parks and playgrounds all year now.

Also, we need to set minimal standards if we're going to have these kinds of programs. We need to reach some kind of accord about what constitutes a minimally acceptable program. That might come through regulation. Some folks thought that setting minimal standards was a good way to go. But there needs to be some definition of quality for programs. We need to involve existing community agencies in developing guidelines. We're not talking about programming just for the sake of babysitting. We're talking about issues of quality.

We also need to improve our own professional awareness and expertise. We have a great many people now who are knowledgeable about working with young children. We don't have many people who are knowledgeable about working with young adolescents. Their developmental needs, as we heard very eloquently, are different. We need to make sure that the professional expertise among youth workers is upgraded.

We need a data base. This goes back to the idea of the invisible population. We need disaggregated data about subpopulations. We don't have a good information base to work with. That's something I'm particularly sensitive to, because the population I work with is often referred to as the "other" in "white, black, and other," and we have

to guess what their needs are. So it's really important to take a look at different kinds of populations, because their needs are different.

We need to keep definitions somewhat flexible, because different communities have different needs. What for one community might be a real safety need, for another community won't make any sense. Stephanie [Robinson] and I were talking about how communities see education as the overwhelming need. So, if you define something rigidly, for instance that "these programs are for safety purposes," the definition won't make sense in some communities and might make perfect sense in others.

We need to force ourselves, whether we like it or not, to deal cooperatively with the schools. The schools have the kids between 9:00 and 3:00. We need to have some kind of cooperative, articulated policy with those schools.

The last thing we talked about was transportation services. I think Judy's group said it better, when they were talking about accessibility issues. How are programs made accessible to kids? Sometimes it's a transportation issue. We were talking about busing. Sometimes that does have implications for programs. But regardless, those kids go home to a neighborhood. Are there programs in that neighborhood accessible and available on a whole variety of indicators?

Most important, we lack a cogent, well-thought-out, developed policy that can lead to change.

When we were talking about an invisible population, I wanted to share an example with you. Hispanics are often referred to as an invisible population, and we don't have good data. I wanted to present you with a little snapshot of what the Hispanic population looks like. In 1980, Hispanics were 6.4 percent of the American population. By the year 2000, that is going to grow to 9.9 percent. We are talking about a growth rate that is still at baby boom levels, in many cases. The point is not that the Hispanic birthrate is so much higher; it's just that it never decreased the way the white birthrate did after the baby boom. The birthrate is still 101 live births per 1,000. And for Mexican-American women, it's 119 live births. The average birthrate in the United States is 67 births per 1,000. The median age is a lot younger than for the rest of the U.S. population. Hispanics have a median age of 22.1 years. A tremendous proportion of the population, then, are school-age children, or kids who are preparing to go to school, or should be in school. An awful lot of the rest of them are parents of young children.

It's not surprising that when you conduct opinion polls in almost any Hispanic community, the top two issues that emerge are education and employment. Depending on the community, there will be a third local issue. In Los Angeles, it's violence and safety, because people are concerned about gangs. In some Texas neighborhoods, it might be drainage, because there are still areas that don't have adequate sewage systems in the U.S. The usual top issues, however, are

employment and education. I think that is very easy to understand, if you just look at the population.

Hispanics are a poor population, as well. We have a funny relationship with the black population, because Hispanics are more poorly educated than the black population, but not as poor when it comes to average income. There are many different ways to explain that. Some of it has to do with the fact that people work two and three jobs, because family sizes are larger. Some of it you probably can't explain by anything other than structural features in our society. But if the U.S. median income is $23,000, Hispanics' income is only $16,000; and blacks' is only $13,000.

About 30 percent of the population in the Hispanic community live below the poverty line. So we're not talking, in many instances, about middle-class communities that can afford to pay a large portion of their income on child care, and certainly not about those who are going to choose to pay for adolescent care, because the kids can be out on their own.

The other point I want to share with you briefly concerns education. We have a problem of epidemic proportion with education in our community. It starts in elementary school, with kids who are just beginning and fall behind their peers. We have a dropout rate among people 25 years old of over 45 percent. In some of our cities, like New York City, for example, 9 out of 10 Hispanic children do not finish high school. In Chicago, the figure is 74 percent. In Houston, it's 64 percent. This is a problem of incredible magnitude. Functional illiteracy is, in some studies, reported to be over 54 percent for Hispanics.

Education, then, is a prime concern in the community. When I look at barriers to developing these kinds of programs in Hispanic organizations, I can tell you that the program has to have an educational, preventive focus, or Hispanic organizations won't invest their limited resources. They're busy running inhalant-abuse programs; they're busy running dropout programs; they're busy running teenage pregnancy programs. They're picking up the pieces of broken lives. But what I find very attractive is the comment about missed opportunities that Joan made Sunday night. It is a missed opportunity if we don't use every single minute we can get with these young teenagers, and do something to improve their educational development.

MABEL LEON
GROUP REPORT

We had a very interesting group. I will start with barriers to policy.

Our group identified funding as a major barrier. There are problems in allocations of funding, and youth positions have been eliminated in libraries and youth programs. Children's programs have suffered a very heavy toll under the federal budget cuts of the Reagan administration. Some cuts were cited in our group (e.g., the USDA

cuts in the Child Care Feeding Program eliminating reimbursement for this age bracket of children). Often, funding is for short-term, dramatic projects (e.g., the current focus on sex abuse and safety issues). Very often, there is no continuation of funding for needs that exist on a continuing basis. There is competition among generations for dollars, and there is a focus away from human services in national priorities.

Our group discussed the **lack of public awareness**, which often is translated into a lack of concern. We talked about the lack of a developed constituency, lack of leadership, and fragmentation of responsibility as barriers. The lack of recognition of cultural differences has certainly been talked about already in relation to minority needs.

Regarding the lack of communication between parents, one of the things that was pointed out was that parents of young children tend to talk to each other more, or talk to the schools more, than parents of older children. Parents of young adolescents are sometimes isolated.

Participants in our group listed specific barriers that prevent the use of school facilities for after-school programming. The high cost of rent, insurance, and custodial fees are often prohibitive. Many of these barriers exist in New York City, and they limit the use of school buildings in an area where finding appropriate program space is a major problem. The rigid attitude of schools toward changing family trends and the lack of creativity of schools in relating to the needs of the communities exacerbate the problems already mentioned.

The lack of data collection and clearinghouses of information often constitute barriers to the development of positive policies for youth.

Many states do not have licensing regulations and standards for programs serving children ages 10 to 14. Where licensing regulations do exist, they sometimes present a policy barrier; and in many cases they do not reflect the needs of young adolescents. Staff qualifications sometimes require a degree in early childhood education, but such a degree may not prepare staff to relate to the early adolescent population. Tennessee's licensing regulations provide another example; these regulations preclude adolescents from volunteering in child care centers when they are under 16 years of age because youth under 16 years of age are counted as children in the program.

The transportation policy of schools can present a policy barrier in many states. In New York State, a school district can only be reimbursed for bus service from home to school and school to home; after-school programs are not an allowable destination. There are, however, school districts that do provide this service.

Our group moved to a **discussion of initiatives.** At this point I am going to interject my specific role. One of the reasons I was asked to be a reporter was to talk about some of the policies in New York State promoted by the Council for Children and Families. In your

materials for the conference you received a report to the Governor recommending new policies (School-Age Child Care in New York State). I am not going to take time to go through those recommendations; I am going to talk to you about what some of the initiatives have been since the report.

First, an interagency team was established. The interagency team involves those state government human services agencies that are involved in youth services, including the Education Department, the Department of Social Services, the Division of Youth, the Division of Criminal Justice Services, and the Council on Children and Families.

Governor Cuomo signed legislation this year that appropriated $300,000 to start school-age child care programs, in grants of $10,000 per program. These funds do not establish a stream of funding for operations; they are earmarked strictly for start-up. After the initial grant, programs are expected to function on their own, with their own resources.

Another part of that legislation expressly authorized the use of schools for school-age child care programs. Some schools have been used for school-age child care programs for years, but in other areas uncertainty was voiced by school administrators and school boards. This legislation sanctioned the use of school buildings and provided impetus to the policymakers and school administrators to use schools. It is now stated in law that schools may be used to provide child care services during non-school hours.

This interagency team developed a request for proposals (RFP) for these funds. In the development of the RFP, the team was concerned about funding quality programs and emphasized program issues. Several members of this interagency group have expertise in program development for children and youth. In the RFP, a statement of program goals or program mission was required by any program applying for funds. The criteria for selecting programs included the following: a variety and balance of activities, flexibility in programming, attention to the developmental needs of children, parent involvement, and activity choice by children.

This interagency team will be reviewing, rating, and recommending selected programs for funding by January 1, 1985. Final decisions will be made by the State Department of Social Services.

As part of the request for proposal, the interagency team developed some guidelines for school-age child care programs, including staff ratios and staff qualifications. As part of its future work, the team will be reviewing the licensing regulations of New York State as they pertain to child care programs for school-age children.

New York State does not have uniform licensing standards. In New York City, all programs must be licensed by the New York City Health Department either as a youth program or as a day care center. Outside New York City, a program which operates for less than three hours does not need a license. A program operating for more than three hours

must meet State Department of Social Services day care licensing regulations for preschool children.

The interagency team will study and review these existing regulations in an effort to formulate recommendations for licensing and standards that will promote quality care for school-age children.

This team will also be examining the transportation policy of schools and the possible extension of such transportation services to a child care setting. The current policy is defined by the Education Department in its allowable costs for reimbursement to local school districts.

The current project is offering technical assistance to programs and interested community groups and individuals.

I will now move onto some initiatives in other areas. In Vermont, primary prevention of juvenile delinquency is being stressed. By 1988, all human service agencies for youth will be required by legislation to take a preventive approach to juvenile delinquency. Some areas that may be addressed are keeping youth in the community, working on their self-esteem, and youth involvement in their communities.

In California, a $200 million latchkey package was proposed in three legislative initiatives; a $30 million appropriation for school-age child care was included in this legislation. The school-age child care legislation passed both houses with bipartisan support but was vetoed by the Governor. It remains a very impressive initiative and will be introduced next year.

In Florida, the Commissioner of Education has been supporting after-school programs in order to raise test scores of children. The effort depends on involving volunteers. A new program called NIKE (Neighbors Involved in Kids Education) has been developed. The corporate sector, including NIKE, is offering bonus awards for youngsters' participation and accomplishments.

The Appalachian Regional Commission also offers examples of alliances between industry and child care/youth development programs.

In Houston, Texas, there have been 14 magnet schools. In recent years, 35 more schools have been added. These schools are operating "extended instruction" programs to bring up test scores. These programs are being underwritten by the school system and are being offered at no cost to families.

In New York State, there have been six model programs funded to train and use adjudicated youth in day care programs and in school-age programs serving younger children. Cornell University is going to develop a training package for local programs to use in preparing these youth to work with younger children.

We talked about the possibility of ACTION's establishing a national volunteer effort to involve young adolescents.

A model from Charlotte, North Carolina was presented that illustrates the need to establish a task force with very broad representation and reinforced the suggestions proposed by Jack Calhoun in his address yesterday. The Charlotte Council for Children conducted a needs assessment, assembled resource people, and then brought together community representatives from all kinds of interests to look at how they could solve the latchkey issue as a community.

The town of Derby, Kansas, passed a Community Education referendum in 1981 guaranteeing that permanent funding support for Community Education would be tied to the school levy. Community Education received one-half of one mill, equal to approximately $1.95 a year for a taxpayer with a $50,000 home.

A PTA initiative in Los Angeles is sponsoring extended after-school care in eight K-6 schools.

Participants in our workshop made some suggestions for coalition building, and I'm going to list those ideas. Shopping centers can involve youth in events and exhibits and provide recognition to them. The after-school issue can be connected to literacy campaigns. Women's magazines should be approached and press conferences scheduled in an effort to educate people about the issues so that the base of support can be broadened. Connections should be extended to coalitions addressing teenage pregnancy and the prevention of teenage suicide. Long-standing youth coalitions on a national and state level should not be overlooked, as well as the National Council for Jewish Women and church organizations.

Our group concluded with needed policies. A policy for children in after-school hours needs to have community input to reflect cultural differences. We need a continuum of care. In other words, we are not in competition with child care or youth services; we need to develop a flow of child care services; we need to connect child care with youth services, and youth services with youth employment. Even though we are here to focus on early adolescence, let us not forget the younger children or the older ones, and let us see our services as fitting together on a continuum of care.

We need a policy that clarifies the role of survival skills training. Such courses need to involve parents, like the program that we heard about yesterday [from Peter Coolsen]. We think such programs should be offered with the stated qualifications that they are not substitutes for adult supervision.

Finally, we need licensing to reflect the different developmental needs off children in different stages.

LEONARD STERN
GROUP REPORT

I'm going to say a word at the outset about the organizations that I work with. I'm with the National Collaboration for Youth in

Washington. The Collaboration consists of 14 of the major national youth-serving organizations, with an obvious interest in the topic of this conference, and a stake in millions and millions of adolescents and after-school programs. They spend a lot of time sharing information about such programs and working on public policy and legislative matters. The Collaboration took the lead in forming a broad-based coalition in Washington, D.C., which worked for passage of the School Facilities Child Care Act. Many of the people in this room worked on that and are responsible for some success in that area.

The Collaboration works under the auspices of a broader umbrella group, called the National Assembly, which has many more national human services organizations, with concerns broader than children, reaching into other aspects of family life and service. Members of the Assembly spend a fair amount of time helping each other figure out how to do their jobs better by sharing information about leading, managing, and governing human services organizations.

The Assembly is also concerned about public policy matters. In particular we care about what is happening in the country now, when there is increasing abdication of the government's responsibilities for promoting the general welfare as stated in the Constitution, and confusion about the roles of business, government, and the voluntary sector in the provision of human services. It is our belief that those who are service providers, such as the organizations that make up the Assembly, must make their voices heard as part of the attempt to define those roles and to shape and promote sound public policies for human services.

Our group covered so much, in a rather confusing session, that I'm not going to try to report chronologically what was said. I am going to try to put things together in a slightly different fashion.

We are down to the really tough part of the conference when we talk about policy. It is relatively easy, I think, to learn from each other's program models and to come to some agreement on theories of child development. But when we try to figure out what to do about public policy, it gets a little confusing. Our group ranged from general, theoretical, conceptual issues to very specific ones, from national policies to local idiosyncracies. I am going to give you a quick idea of the range of some of the items we cited as barriers to social policy.

We discussed problems related to transportation, both in terms of school busing and general public transportation systems; confusing and unrealistic licensing provisions in many communities; land use and zoning restrictions that affect our ability to operate programs--some specifically related to child care activities and other general patterns that create segregated housing and have an effect on child care, the vast number of unused facilities, such as churches and other places in communities, which we need to be able to tap; restrictions on the use of volunteers; restrictions on the use of young people to help other young people, including certain outdated, overly protective child labor laws; controversies over the sub-minimum wage, etc.; restrictions on advocacy by non-profit organizations, which the

government has attempted to put through in recent months; turf issues; the tendency of school boards to limit their concerns to the classroom and not think beyond that; problems in screening personnel, including proposals relating to the requirement for criminal-records checks.

All of these are items that we went through. In many of those problem areas, we cited some examples of program initiatives which were being taken to overcome them. We don't have time to go through them today, but the Center staff assures me that they will be recorded and distributed. (Initiatives are listed on page 85.)

Instead of dealing with each of these in detail, I want to list some of the general areas that we dealt with at a somewhat broader level.

First, I want to mention a few issues that require some further discussion and clarification. The idea of separating the issue of child care from program supervision, which has been discussed here many times, seems to be an important insight for a number of people; some feel that care issues are predominantly of concern when you deal with younger kids and fade into a greater concern for program supervision as kids get older. That is a general area that requires some further clarification.

Another area has to do with focus. Should the 3:00 to 6:00 programs we are talking about be targeted on poor kids, minority kids, disadvantaged kids, kids at greatest risk? Or is such targeting dysfunctional? Does it make programs vulnerable to cuts? Should we be focusing instead on programs that are universally available?

These are areas that require further discussion and clarification.

Our group also enunciated a couple of principles relating to social policy change. First, we were reminded that policy is not driven only by concern for social improvement and human betterment; but that frequently race, class, and sex biases of policymakers are the important factors that drive social policy. Second, we were reminded that social change takes place when there is an opportunity to affect the social system. The Rosa Parks issue was cited. The fact is that history wasn't made just because a woman got on a bus and did something, at that moment, there was an opportunity to make a change in the transportation system. It was pointed out in our group that change takes place not when the concerns are related only to a small group or to a minority group, but when the issues that affect those minority groups in our country become a concern for the larger population. That's when folks are willing to consider policy change.

Our group cited a few general barriers to sound policy development, reiterating some of the things that Jack said.

That we lack a view of youth as a resource is in itself a policy barrier. To the extent that that concept is not appreciated, this is a barrier preventing us from getting attention paid to new policies related to serving youth.

The recent election pointed to the fact that folks do not want to hear about problems; they only want to hear about good things. They are not very much concerned about serving others; they are into preserving what they have. In the current milieu, it's difficult to bring about changes in public policies. These impediments to public policy development are deep in the public consciousness at the moment; they make lawmakers and policymakers reluctant to change.

We talked briefly about general economic issues -- the economy of scarcity, trickle-down theory, less government, etc. -- which make it difficult to develop appropriate public policies for young people and for their families.

We talked about competition with other age groups, for example, the growing elderly population. One of the concerns that we have is that other age groups have more clout because they represent people who have the vote. Children do not have the vote, and it is hard to advocate for powerless and voteless young people.

One area of interest to the National Assembly deals with the incursion of for-profit organizations into child care and human services areas that were previously occupied principally by public and charitable groups. Concomitant efforts to move charitable organizations out of service areas they have traditionally occupied have the potential result of developing a two-tiered system in this country, where people who can afford to will pay for services from businesses, and people who cannot afford to -- the people who are the hardest to serve -- will be relegated to and become the principal clients of non-profit organizations.

There are a number of other areas: the difficulty is establishing decent policy as block grants and deregulation create great variations in different communities; the tendency to take standards that apply to very young people and simply apply them across the board to adolescents; the unreasonable standards that are promulgated by professional groups, unions and others, largely out of their own self-interest, as compared to an interest in kids.

Finally, we did discuss a few areas where there are opportunities to overcome these barriers. We need to acknowledge differences in different communities and to adapt a range of available programs, services, and models to different populations. We need to develop public education strategies, focusing particularly on decision makers and legislators, many of whom know nothing about our services; they come from the legal profession or from the business community; they have never been immersed in voluntary organizations or human services, and they need some education in order to develop the background necessary to develop human service policies.

Jack talked yesterday about new coalitions. We simply don't have the clout to move things along ourselves. We do need to join with the cops. We do have potential allies on our boards of directors, including business people and other influential people in our community. It is only through joining with those people that, in

fact, we will make some change. I can tell you that we had some success in Washington in passing certain juvenile justice legislation; part of that was because we got not only us do-gooders together, but we were able to get people from the Chamber of Commerce and the American Legion to sign onto that legislation. That helped to move it along.

In a final word, I'd like to come back to the issue that Jack brought up yesterday, having to do with seeing youth as a resource rather than focusing only on the needs of youth. Some in our group expressed a note of hope, while others were skeptical. Many remember President Kennedy, who talked about not asking what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country. Some people believe that that spirit died when John Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy, and Martin Luther King died. But others in the group reminded us that many Americans grew up with that vision. In spite of what we perceived to have happened during the last election and the change in public attitudes that apparently have occurred in this country, that generation still carries inside someplace that message of service to their communities. Our challenge is to find a way to tap that feeling.

DISCUSSION

Lipsitz: For all the confusion and frustration yesterday, before the break, something happened over hot chocolate that turned the groups around and that got the groups beyond the confusion to what we heard this morning. If you are like me, then some of you were sitting here dying to add to what we said. We have time now for general discussion. There were a lot of provocative things said. We are even allowed to get angry with each other. I'm going to open the discussion to you now.

Pettygrove: Is it right to assume Hispanic families have common characteristics? I would like for Lori [Orum] to talk about subcultural variations within this population, especially about the role of education and the schools.

Orum: Intergenerational Hispanic family units are prevalent in some parts of the country, but the Hispanic community is not monolithic. I would encourage any of you who work with Hispanic communities to disaggregate the data, because Puerto Ricans in the Northeast may live a lot differently than Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, and a lot differently from Cubans. In some parts of the country things have changed a little more slowly, and you do still have intergenerational families who provide child care, since a grandmother or an aunt is around. But, for example, in New York, that is not the case any more in most families. We are talking about working women who do not have those options. The point is that the Hispanic community looks a little different from the general U.S. community. In terms of education, what I hear from our affiliates is that most of Hispanics believe that what the schools offer in the general curriculum has failed Hispanic kids. They don't want more of the same. They're looking for something different. They're looking

for something multi-cultural. They're looking for something that validates the children as worthwhile people who can achieve. Where possible, they'd love some Spanish language skills to be thrown in.

Calhoun: I have a question for Mabel [Leon] and Judy [Weiss]. The New York bill passed, for $300,000. I wondered, just in shorthand, what the framing was of the policy statement that generated that money and how it might be similar to or different from the School-Age Child Care bill. Was it educational?

Leon: The New York State appropriation for the start-up of school-age child care program was developed in response to the changing family patterns and in direct response to the needs of working parents and their children.

In the 1983 and 1984 State of the State Address by Governor Cuomo, the need for child care and the need for programs beyond school hours was acknowledged. The Council report on school-age child care documented the need for child care services from the perspective of parents' needs and children's needs and cited the need for start-up funds as an impetus to community efforts.

Parent groups like the PTA, civic groups like the League of Women Voters, broad coalitions of day care groups (e.g., New York State Child Care Coordinating Council), and advocate organizations (e.g., Statewide Youth Advocacy) stated support of school-age child care for working parents as part of their education agenda with legislators.

The specific legislation was sponsored by Senator Mary Goodhue, Chairperson of the Senate Child Care Committee. This legislation was proposed as a support for working parents with an emphasis on middle-income working parents who need child care.

Many school-age child care programs are sustained by parent fees, and many do not have a sliding fee scale due to limited funds. There are few public funds to supplement parent fees; and as a consequence many of these programs are not accessible to low-income children.

In addition, I have repeatedly heard the argument that poor families don't care to use after-school services for their children. I think this view can be a rationalization for what currently exists.

Equity is a real issue to look at in terms of the development of after-school programs and one which is very difficult to solve in terms of limited funds for programs.

This conference has focused on early adolescents. The legislation in New York State defined school-age children as children between the ages of five and 14, but most programs focus primarily on the age range from five to 10.

Calhoun: So the point is keeping schools open so parents can work. It wasn't about the well-being of children and quality programs?

Leon: No. The interagency team on school-age child care has attempted to focus on quality programs and the well-being of children. In developing the RFP and the criteria for selection of programs, the team reached a consensus to choose thirty quality programs that would serve as models.

The team also tried to address the issue of equity and service to low-income children by requesting a sliding fee scale and a plan for service to low-income children. We realize that this would be a difficult task for most programs with limited resources available.

The interagency team has tried to expand the task of selecting programs for start-up funds to include issues of quality programming, equity, and accessibility of service to all income children, and parent involvement.

Weiss: I would like to add that the federal program for school-age child care goes beyond start-up funds. Originally, it just was going to cover start-up costs. But the final language is the same as it is in the information and referral section, which is that it can cover start-up as well as expansion of programs. But it can't cover operational costs. That's the only thing it doesn't cover.

Participant: How about staff development?

Weiss: I'm not sure. Again, it's going in a block grant to states. So partly, it's up to the states. The federal language lays out certain limitations and says what it would like the money to be used for. But it's up to the states. And it's only an authorization at this point. It isn't an appropriation.

Calhoun: But was the framing the same?

Weiss: I was not as involved with this particular bill. But I think it's generally a working parents' issue. And also probably safety, keeping kids off the streets.

Participant: My understanding was that the driving force behind all the changes was that women are in the labor force, that children are alone, and it's unsafe.

Participant: I just want to ask the panelists if there were any other specific ideas that came up during their discussions which public schools and educators can utilize to really address this issue?

Rosenzweig: There is an interesting resource that has been developed by the School-Age Child Care Project of Wellesley College for school administrators. It will be coming out soon. It is by Abby Cohen, a lawyer, and it discusses many of the legal issues that seem to be -- well, I never know if they are the major stumbling blocks or if they are the major excuses. It helps educators and legal people talk together. It helps administrators talk to administrators, and legal people talk to administrators. Wellesley is hoping to hold some conferences for school administrators, to push this. That is just one approach.

Thomases: To respond to that question. I'm painfully aware when I'm in a group like this that we in New York are a particular species. I have serious questions about the strategy of looking to formal education systems and school administrators as a source of support and facilitation for this program. I think we need their buildings desperately. I think that they are absolutely overwhelmed with the demands that are being placed on them. Their failures in meeting just those demands are so immense that I just can't see that it will work to add another item to their agenda. I also think that they tend not to be the greatest innovators. They have particular ways of relating to youth. They have been particularly unsuccessful -- witness the schools in this country -- in meeting the needs of young adolescents. If they would open their buildings to organizations that can address these needs and have been serving youth in the communities, that would be successful. But I have questions about their being the facilitators or the planners.

Lipsitz: The Center for Early Adolescence will be exploring this issue. New York does present some problems, not unique, but some overwhelming problems. There are some other major cities that do not. We hope to sit down in dialogue and look at this. I think we all have the same concern about ownership. The question is one of cooperation rather than ownership. The dialogue has to begin in those places where we have a chance of serving this age group in those buildings in the after-school hours.

Espinoza: As a representative of an institution whose work is primarily in education, although my particular work is more in tune with yours, I would like to say that we at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (S.E.D.L.) are not ready to give up on the assistance that parents and children can get from schools. It is true that schools seem now to be overwhelmed by all of the things that are being asked of them, particularly during this time when they are experiencing a wave of educational reforms. But at the same time, schools realize that they need the help of their local communities in order to meet the educational challenges that are being posed. So, in the context of all of these after-school programs and also in terms of after-school care, and their need to use the buildings and the playgrounds that are near school buildings, they are aware that they need community representation and support. That is the area we are working on.

Participant: And thinking back about that just a moment, the community school concept is another strategy mentioned in our group, and that is something you can build on.

Stone: I can also say, from an educator's perspective, that a lot depends on the approach. I think you need to come to school people and say, "Here's something we can help you do." We were talking about what was happening in Houston, which is a school initiative to help raise test scores. I think agencies need to look at what they can do for the schools, as well as coming and saying, "We want your building." As soon as that kind of comment is made to the school people, they'll say, "Hey, why should we help you, if you're not

interested in helping us?" So, I think we can look at more ways we can help each ocher.

Rosen: This might be useful. We have developed something called "The Partnership Paper," where we spell out the roles and responsibility of any organization that comes in and uses the schools, and the roles and responsibility of the schools. And that's what the schools are really frightened of: what they're going to be responsible for. Plus, we have just developed a principals' handbook. First you have to deal with the school system, then, day-to-day, you have to deal with the principals. Our handbook spells out what the organization's relationship to principals is and what their responsibilities are. I'd be glad to send that out. Because I agree with you. In some ways New York isn't an exception. Schools are willing to go a certain part of the way with you. They certainly don't want the whole responsibility. When you start to tease out those responsibilities and make them clear, it makes dialogue much easier. ◀

Stone: I think that school administrators are open to discussion and working with you during after-school hours. I think there is one other issue that needs to be discussed, and that is that school administrators work for boards of education, and boards of education are political animals. They respond to the pressure of the constituencies who vote them in. New York is a very political place, with the school board being appointed by the mayor, I believe. I think they have to get political and work with that mayor, who will cooperate with the board members. That's going to take a little while, but I don't think it's impossible.

Weiss: I want to say that, contrary to what Jack said yesterday, I think there is a real opportunity this year to push for some child care and youth program money on the federal level. Of course, given the election results, it may be a little more difficult. But I really think that, for the first time, there is some bipartisan support on this issue. The concern is there. It's unfortunate that things like child abuse in child care centers are causing the concern and the willingness to explore the issue. But it's there and it's an opportunity. We were able to squeeze through some money at the end of the session, and we were able to authorize these new programs. That is a real victory. I think that we are going to be continuing to push for some more legislation next year. We are going to need all of your help in doing that. So just don't forget about what can be done on the federal level. ◀

Lipsitz: There have been some herculean efforts that we have seen at the state and federal levels in this past year, as well as in the agencies. It is our job now to attempt to become extremely specific, which is always the hardest task. Let me tell you what will not be helpful. It will not be helpful if we go back to our groups and we say, "We recommend a continuum of care." That's not helpful. It's too vague. It will not be helpful if we say, "We want to make communities more aware." That's what we did yesterday. It is better to come up with one specific, doable recommendation than five pages of newsprint. Make recommendations that you feel you can take

ownership of, or somebody in your agency, or somebody you are sitting next to on the bus, or having a drink with at night, or having coffee with now. Those specific recommendations will be the most helpful. I am not saying, "Don't dream." I am saying, "When you dream, make it a specific dream."

Initiatives

These initiatives are recorded from newsprint of Stern's discussion group. See page 75.

-National organizations, e.g., National Urban League and National Coalition, advocate for regulations that give incentives to non-profits.

-Wisconsin Girl Scouts gained support from governor for exemption to "street trade" law.

-Lexington, Mass., public transportation has express buses from schools to after-school programs, with passes so that a youngster can attend several programs a day.

-Wellesley's School-Age Child Care Program works to open school buildings to school-age child care programs and gives technical assistance to programs and schools.

-Increasing numbers of districts are drawing guidelines for the use of public school buildings.

-When community schools are in operation, a facility is available, assuming community support and clear guidelines.

-Programs run through community schools get information out through flyers, reducing problem of access to information.

-The National Urban League's and NAACP's Conference on Black Families began discussion for black families about what they must do for themselves and what they need to look to the government for.

Tuesday, November 13, 1984

11:30 A.M. Plenary Session

STRATEGIES

LEAH M. LEFSTEIN
GROUP REPORT

Our group focused on national awareness, because we felt that building a coalition of various agencies can be done only through promoting national awareness of the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue, and its impact on youth and families in different communities; the tendency to take standards that apply to very young people and simple apply them across the board to adolescents; the unreasonable standards that are promulgated by professional groups, unions and others, largely out of ties. We thought that there were some youth agencies that should take the lead in promoting the national effort. We focused on the National Collaboration for Youth, because Leonard wasn't in our group. But we also talked about the School-Age Child Care Project, because they have established models for care for younger children, and about the Center for Early Adolescence, because of the Center's interest in early adolescence and in the needs of young adolescents. We said that once that agency had taken over the campaign to promote national awareness, it would develop a small, representative group of agencies and constituent groups. Begin with a small coalition to plan a unified, coordinated effort.

We began in an orderly fashion to define the prerequisites for that effort. We need to collect data and search existing data bases that have information about youth that can be disaggregated, to understand youth and young adolescents. We need to initiate and encourage research, and to define issues and policy needs, based on the data. Then we need to develop public and private funding strategies. We felt that this was both a public responsibility and a private responsibility, and that both sectors should be approached for funding.

Then we talked about promoting awareness as part of our mission, and establishing communication priorities. We talked about public relations, including television and print media, and we thought about what David [Wynn] said last night about having a staff person whose sole aim it is to promote awareness of the issue in the popular media. We thought of advertising campaigns and interagency communication as part of this entire effort.

Then we would recruit a broad coalition of more agencies and organizations that need to have an interest in the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. problem, and identify political action goals. Specific devices we thought of were a White House Conference and an Advertising Council campaign to focus interest and generate action.

DAVID F. WYNN
GROUP REPORT

We started by trying to take a look at what each of us could do. We went around the room, and each of us identified some actions that we could take and that we could commit ourselves to, either as individuals or because of our organizational representation. This blended into several themes.

One of those themes was information sharing. We decided that we are already a network, and that we have an obligation to share with one another some things we are doing, some models we know about, and similar information. Another theme was our recognition that we need a clearinghouse. Yes, we are a network, and if we just exchange among ourselves, that's all fine and good. We could also do a lot in terms of dissemination within our own networks. We can use our own constituencies and our own vehicles to become very forceful advocates. But in this regard a clearinghouse function would really be very, very helpful.

Because of the experience of this conference, we realized perhaps for the first time that we need to accentuate the implications of this age group and look at the uniqueness of this age group, and what they could bring to the total problem of child care and child supervision.

Then we said: "What does that all mean?" Well, before you can start anything, you really need a data base. And we need a much better data base. We were reminded of Joan's plea to send in any kind of information you have. One member of our committee came up with a really bright idea: Is it possible to get something into the Census? If we could gather some data from the Census, it would be very helpful to us, because one of the needs we identified is for national data. We also need local data that can be interpreted for use in the local community.

But if you wait for the Census, you are going to wait several years before you have the information. We need information now. We can't wait. We need to do something more quickly than that. So we came up with the idea of contacting the corporate community, those who have a market interest in the young people that we serve, and ask them to undertake a national survey of households, including parents and young people in this age group. From these respondents we could try to get some perspective about the issues that have been the topic of our dialogue in the past day-and-a-half, like young people's role in community service; like who pays for services needed; like whose responsibility it is, etc. We need to get that information and make it available.

That becomes the first part of an awareness effort. Once the data is in place, you have the fuel for the fire that allows you to move on to a second level of awareness efforts, focused on the local community as well as in the national community. It was all well and good to talk about the things that we could do, but who in the world is going to make the corporate community respond? We felt that from within this body, a number of organizations could come together

to form a coalition. It is necessary in any coalition for someone to take the lead, and we thought the Center for Early Adolescence was the ideal vehicle for that.

I think the final thing we want to say -- and this is our real recommendation -- is that we as individuals, in addition to functioning as advocates, in addition to functioning as a network, seek to influence our own structures for information and data gathering procedures to allow us to zero in on the age group, on the problems, and share that information with each other.

GAYLE DORMAN
GROUP REPORT

First, our group talked about ways in which organizations represented here could use a conference report that would outline who young adolescents are, some positive program initiatives that are under way, and also community-based models for doing needs assessments and mobilizing the community. The organizations represented here that have national constituencies could use that both to support advocacy positions within their governing boards, and also to communicate to their local constituencies the need and some ideas to address the need.

Second, there were several people in our group who really liked the check-in concept as an organizer for providing services to this age group. So we suggested that the check-in concept be communicated to others. There were two concerns that were addressed. One was that the model be looked at in terms of whether or not it is applicable to all kinds of communities, not just middle-class communities, and the other was that a constellation of services needs to be in place in a community in order for a check-in program to work. Young adolescents need to have something to check out to once they begin, and they also need to have child care provided for their younger siblings, for whom they may be responsible.

Third, we talked about how our individual organizations could push for the appropriation for the child care bill, and then begin to push for funding for this particular age group.

JUDITH WEISS
GROUP REPORT

Our first recommendation is very specific: Take a committee or group from this conference and try to set up a meeting with Elizabeth Dole to talk about the transportation problem, not just for school-age children, but also in general, for the elderly and young kids to see what her position is and what she is willing to do about it.

The second recommendation is to work with school boards, superintendents, the National Association of School Boards, the National Association of Black School Educators, the state boards and county commissioners, and other school organizations for specific purposes. One is that every school should have a written after-school

plan, an individual program plan, within special education, for every school-age child, which would be used for information for the school to keep track of what the kid is supposed to be doing after school. A second is to work with these organizations to figure out ways to involve school-age children in volunteer activities for credit. A third is to discuss with schools their feelings about what the barriers are to opening the school buildings, to listen to them a little bit more, to try to work with them on those barriers, and also to discuss how the schools can work more closely with other agencies to develop some of these programs.

A third idea was to promote a national advertising campaign. We drafted Jack [Calhoun] and Peter [Coolsen] to work on that.

Fourth, following that, and what each of us can take away from this conference is that wherever we go, and whomever we talk to, we make this an issue. We bring it up in our speeches, in lobbying, and in conferences. For instance, one of our members is going to give a lecture in the John Umstead Lecture Series in North Carolina. She is now going to include the 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. issue in her talk, as an adolescent abuse issue. She is going to include that in her speech, which she would not have done before the conference.

A fifth suggestion was to create a task force to identify public and private pools of money for after-school programs. A specific suggestion about that was to put a fee on birth certificates that would go specifically to after-school programs, as has been done for marriage licenses with child abuse.

The sixth suggestion had to do with training and staff development of both professionals and volunteers. We need to identify good models for training. For instance, the Center has a curriculum that they are working on; 4-H is working on a training program; some other organizations are, as well. Money for training might come from the private sector. We might be able to sell it as pre-employment training, because we need to develop the human resources of these young adolescents, who will then be more employable and more useful to the private sector later on. We also identified the need to work with more formal educational and training institutions, to get them to incorporate adolescent development into their curricula.

One of the members of our group said that she feels the need for a tool that could be used to conduct a study of her community. Then she could go to the city council or to the state legislature and say, "This is what the needs are in our community. These are the resources that are available. Now you have to do something about it." So, seventh, someone needs to develop an assessment tool -- a needs and resources assessment tool.

Then, eighth, we talked about what can be done on the federal level, and what can be done starting tomorrow. That would be lobbying your representatives and senators to provide appropriation money for school-age child care, and also to work on model guidelines. In terms of setting a separate set of guidelines for young adolescents, another lobbying area would be to try to lower the age eligibility for ACTION

and NEH programs from 16 to 14.

I personally think it is really important that, as people are working on these issues and lobbying their representatives and senators, we not get into the situation where we are competing either with younger age groups or older age groups. It is really important to approach the issue as being a part of a continuum in development, and that we need to move from child care and early childhood development into youth employment issues. If we try to go after funding for young adolescents only, we are all going to lose. We need to build coalitions with early childhood development people and with people who are working with youth employment, so that we are not competing with each other.

DISCUSSION

Lipsitz: I have three questions for you. The first one is, what do you think is most pressing? The second is, what is most feasible? And the third is, which can you do? I consider the third question to be most pressing.

Participant: In immediacy, number four of the items we discussed; each of us can make this issue a personal issue. That's the first priority. I think we can do that, and I hope that each one of us will.

Stern: I am not being responsive to what you asked, but I wanted to add one thing from our group that I'm not sure has been reflected here. It has to do with the whole idea of youth as a resource. It is different from the check-in concept. It's more general than that. It has to do with not starting with what kids need in terms of service, but what to expect from them, what contribution they can make to their own development and their community. We did talk about that a little bit in separate groups, and it seems like a kind of nifty idea. But if you are really going to think about it in terms of programming and public relations, someone has to sit down and think it through, beyond the kind of generalization that we have all been making about it. It was suggested that perhaps there is a job for the Center. Since you all are so good at conceptualizing, with the help of some people in this room who have hands-on experience, you might flesh that concept out in more practical terms.

Participant: Continuing what Judy [Weiss] has said about the need not to threaten the constituency and be in competition with other groups, plus just the complexity of the issue we all hear about, whether it's safety, or employability of youth, or, with Hispanics, the education of youth and keeping them in the school system, I see as the most pressing need having that central place where somebody or some organization can skillfully manipulate all these interests. I mean "manipulate" in the best sense of the word: "dancing between the raindrops," as one of my political friends says. I think that's very important before people venture into treacherous territory. For me that is the most pressing issue, to give it some structure, and some trusting relationships among groups, and some guidance.

Bartz: Those of us who represent organizational structures that have local affiliates need to make this a part of our communication to them. I suggest that we take what we have learned in terms of what programming for this age group should be like and communicate it to our local people. Not only that, but have them reach out in the communities to the other local representatives, so that they form a local network.

Stern: I would encourage us to build upon the success we have had already with the school-age child care bill, and lobby to get an appropriation so that we can carry out that initiative. To me, that is probably most crucial right now. I also think we should try to influence the model guidelines; whatever they say may set directions for the future in terms of the provisions of care for the young adolescent. To me those are pressing right now. They are specific.

Peters: Back to what Karen [Bartz] was saying. We don't know who is going to be in charge at HHS. I have offered that tomorrow, first thing, I call someone who is assistant secretary and a close friend, and suggest that we have lunch really soon.

Larson: I would like to see a conference report coming out, reminding us about what happened this weekend. I think that could be very impressive. We can take it in and say, "We represent 'X' number of people." It gives us weight to say, "We are not out there working alone." It will have impact on churches and action coalitions and separate institutions, and can get them involved. Also, I'd like to see some follow-up after that data is gathered, and I hope we could then meet again.

Clause: I'd like to see a folder or manual on how to do a local needs assessment, that would take into consideration the differences among communities. Once people do see the need, I think it's important to be ready to say, "This is what we can do, and this is how we can serve the community," rather than just publicizing that the need is there but not coming up with solutions. If you had the needs assessment and the training about to happen, you could say, "Th's is where we can find out where the need is and how we can train pe to start fulfilling the need."

Bogan: One of the things we talked about in our group was that there may be some good resources that we haven't looked at. Some of us are more familiar than others with those data bases. An immediate step we could take is to get together with small groups of people who are familiar with some of the national data bases and just talk through what's available, what's not available, and maybe even cash in on some of the survey research groups that do commercial studies. It wouldn't take much time or effort or money to get those people together just to talk about it.

Robinson: But I think there's an opportunity now to involve schools in providing child care programs with service components, in view of school reform reports citing instances where students were given credit for community service in high schools that have had

successful programs. There are models out there. We probably need to look at places where that's going on.

Sonenstein: I want to reiterate our group's thoughts about the need for some structure for further efforts. What are the Center's perspectives and plans?

Lipsitz: The Center can perform several functions. We can answer requests for information. Among her other responsibilities, Sue [Rosenzweig] answers 80 to 90 requests for information a month. So we definitely do keep information flowing.

I seem to be laboring very long in the vineyards completing an overview of this policy issue. It will be possible for me to incorporate the information from this conference into the final version of that report, and you will each receive a copy. You heard some of it in my speech and in some of what Jack [Calhoun] said.

The Center is helping parents to understand who their young adolescents are, through the curriculum, Living With 10- to 15-Year-Olds. We think that one of the crucial prior steps to almost any effort, whether it is a school improvement effort or an after-school effort, is to help parents feel more comfortable and to help them have more appropriate expectations about what happens to their children as they approach and enter adolescence. It has been our experience that schools that help parents with their worries have a parent constituency that they did not have before. What parents want to know before anything else is: Is this normal? To reassure them about what is, and to give them guidelines about what is not, is so helpful to them, they're so grateful to a school that does that for them, that they will storm the school board if that's what's needed. That's one way that after-school programs can start building their parent constituency. That's one way we are taking something we developed separately and using it as a tactic both in this effort and in our school improvement efforts.

Gayle [Dorman] has been laboring long in the vineyards with Planning Programs for Young Adolescents, which is a curriculum to help youth workers improve their programs for this age group. Some youth workers want to start programs; some youth workers want to extend the age limit upward; some have programs but need a great deal of help improving them. Gayle is doing battle with the field-test version now. That will use a training of trainers model, to cause a ripple effect.

I should also say that the information system itself serves as a clearinghouse, not the kind you're talking about exactly, but it serves as a clearinghouse for program information. We collect a tremendous amount of information about programs, only some of which are in the catalogue, Programs for Young Adolescents. We're proud of the catalogue, but we also have a great deal more program information in our files, and we will continue to have a great deal more, because as we travel about the country, we visit and document more after-school programs. So we can give you and others information about that.

We will take very seriously those things that you have assigned or recommended to us. They will require some funding. They also will require time. It is terribly important for you to know that we are the only game in town. There isn't another national agency that focuses on this age group. As a result, we get seriously overwhelmed. While I would love to say, "Thank you very much, we're really very flattered, and we feel we have earned these recommendations," I cannot promise you that we are going to act on all of them. I know we will act on some of them, even if not in the immediate future.

Lefstein: One other capacity that we have filled in the past few years is advocacy. We have been traveling around the nation speaking to national and local organizations about this issue, and helping to build local coalitions to address the issue.

Lipsitz: I think that you should also know that sitting in this room are three of our board members and one of our funders. You have influenced them, and they influence us. Even if we went home and decided to forget about your recommendations, they wouldn't let us.

Wynn: It has come out loud and clear today in some of the recommendations, both on print and in voice, that unless somebody very specific organizes this effort, it isn't going to get done. There is a need for a new kind of national organization. I say "organization" rather than "coalition" because I think an organization can move faster than a coalition. It does not have to protect as much turf. It seems to me that whether it is the Center or somebody else, ultimately, if this issue keeps being talked about, there is going to be a new national organization. And I'd sure like to see it formed by some of those who have been most involved over the years and have shaped some of the directions and some of the thinking, rather than somebody else coming in late on the scene but who quickly sees the need.

Tuesday, November 13, 1984

12:00 Noon Closing Remarks

JOAN LIPSITZ

I had prepared some closing remarks for you and despite the time, I can't give some of them up, so I want you to bear with me. I have a quote from the Bible, and I have a quote from Chuck Berry. I can't give up the juxtaposition of the two.

From Zechariah 8:4-5..."Thus saith the Lord...And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof." And then from Chuck Berry, the song "School Days": "Soon as three o'clock rolls around you finally lay your burden down. Close your books. Get out of your seat. Down the hall and into the street." I am very struck that both the Bible and Chuck Berry said the same thing, which is that it is so joyous for young people to throw their books down and go outside, with peals of laughter. We have said something very different from Chuck Berry and Zechariah. It is not all joyous out there. Children's play is "serious business," and it has been serious business for a long time. It was very serious business at the turn of the century. For instance the Playground Association of America argued in 1916 that "The expenditure of tax funds for community centers [including playgrounds] is the best form of insurance against assassination and social revolution." And as early as 1898, a report of the University Settlement in New York said, "'Waterloo was won in part on the playing fields of Eton,' said Wellington. Good government for New York may partially be won on the playgrounds of the East Side."

We are not dealing with a new issue. We're dealing with a reinterpreted issue. Today the public presence in youth development is interpreted as a liberal effort to extend the public realm away from the family. But during the first two decades of the century it represented a very deeply conservative impulse, to preserve the dominance of the upper middle-class culture that was threatened by the apparent disarray and potential power of alien norms of child rearing.

Youth development as public policy is not a new issue. Whatever the motives, it commanded big budgets, because it was the equivalent of national defense. I don't think we are going to be successful in securing the Pentagon's budget, but I do think we have a tradition to call upon. Although the motives of settlement houses, voluntary youth organizations, and other youth initiatives have been very varied, we have a history of serving youth in the after-school hours, and in looking at youth as serious public business. For all the contradictory motives in this country, we have over the years recognized the public need to attend to youth after school, whether we supported this attentiveness privately or paid for it from municipal or federal budgets. Sometimes the pressure for funding has come from fears for public safety and social integrity, sometimes from fears of loss of manhood and social purity, sometimes from concern that poor, working class youth lacked opportunities to partake of the American cornucopia. Sometimes we recognized that young people could make a

contribution to their homes and communities. We were almost always aware that young people are tomorrow's potential leaders, to whom adults owe time, attentiveness and instruction. Sometimes today the underlying emotions are fear and distress, sometimes concern and respect. Sometimes the desire is for limiting young people through social controls, which I think we will see again if the antisocial statistics rise again. Sometimes we are concerned about enhancing young people's options through an array of opportunities.

The politics have swung from conservative to progressive and back again to conservative. We have been stitching the patches of this crazy quilt together for decades, and across that stitching has been a concern for the well-being of young people as they become adolescents in their community. I think that what we have decided here is that it is time to stitch some more patches in this crazy quilt. We know that we are not going to make a whole new quilt, but it is timely to put in some more patches in the quilt and to reinforce the stitching of patches already there. I hope that our efforts here, in what I have thought of as a quilting party, will help do that.

Every year at the Center for Early Adolescence we have a conference called "Strengthening the Network." That's what this conference is. We need to strengthen the network of people who are concerned, in their diverse agencies, for their diverse reasons, and from their diverse social and political visions, with the well-being of this age group, of families, and of the community. I hope that we have all given each other vision, wisdom, encouragement, and cautions. I hope we have given each other contacts, and new perspectives from those contacts. I hope we have affirmed some of the things that you are doing, because we all need that affirmation and rarely get it. It is in this kind of "strengthening of the network" that we get it. I hope that we have set in motion some plans to extend what we do for the age group, to improve what we already do for the age group, and to remove some barriers so that others can join us in stitching the crazy quilt.

I want to make sure that I thank the staff of the Center for Early Adolescence, and especially Sue Rosman, with whom you had contact and who has been my assistant for this conference. I hope that we were half as efficient as the Wingspread staff has been. I want to give our united thanks to the Wingspread staff for their absolutely flawless work in creating this conference setting. Thank you very much.

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